MEDIEVAL INDIA—A MISCELLANY

VOLUME TWO

Centre of Advanced Study
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Medieval India

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OURSELVES

We may reiterate the objective and scope of our publication. We interpret the term 'Medieval' in its widest sense, i.e. we begin our study from the time of the break-up of the Rajput States and the foundation of the centralised Sultanate of the Turks, who made attempts to bring the different parts of the country under a unified political, as also economic, system. We extend our study down to the period when the British rule was established and the country was drawn into the orbit of modern industrial civilisation in the form of a colony of British Imperialism. Our study, therefore, includes movements and institutions which the Europeans call 'oriental,' i.e. those whose main source of inspiration did not come from the industrial civilisation of the West but which may be regarded essentially as a continuation from the pre-industrial era. Thus, for example, literary movements in the kingdom of Awadh, though traditionally belonging to the British period of our history, fall within the scope of the study undertaken in this Miscellany.

We use the term 'India' in its historical, i.e. pre-partition sense, and include in our study the history of areas and territories which are now in Pakistan.

We aspire to study, and to promote research in, the history of the Indian people, in all its diversity and manifold aspects—political, social, economic and cultural—and to discover any relationship or correspondence between these different aspects. Our bias, if any such bias is permissible, will essentially be in favour of understanding the life and condition of the common people.

We seek to lay a special emphasis on the study and publication of source material. We hope to publish as many of the unpublished sources (text, translation or analytical summary) as space would permit.

—*Editor*

ROAD—SYSTEM OF INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY AL-BIRUNI

Al-Bīrūnī gives an elaborate description of the road-system of India in his work entitled, *Taḥqīq mā li'l-Hind (Alberuni's India*, ed. and tr. by E. Sachau). He takes Kanauj (U.P.) as the starting point.[1] He describes two main roads going out from Kanauj to the north and the north-west: one going up to Kashmir and passing through *Shīrshāraha* and *Dahmāla* (capital of *Jālandhar*) and terminating at *Rājkirī*; the other, from Kanauj to *Ghazna* (Afghanistan), passing through *Pānpat* (Pānipat) and *Jaylam* (Jhelum) to Kabul.

From Kanauj, again, a road goes west up to *Bazāna* (old capital of Gujerat) and goes on to *Anhilwāra* (Patan), then to *Sōmnāt* (Somnath, Kathiawar). From *Bazāna*, a road goes up to *Mūltān*, and from *Mūltān* another road goes southwards to *Loharānī* (near modern Karachi). Another road passes from *Bazāna* to *Broach.*

From *Bazāna*, again, a road goes southwards up to *Mālwā* from where two main roads go south and south-west: one goes up to *Mandakīr* (Malkhet, Deccan) on the Godavari, and the other westwards, to *Tāna* (Thana, Bombay).

Another road connects Kanauj with *Mālwā*, passing through Mathura.

From Kanauj, again, a road goes towards the south-east and reaches *Āpsūr* on the coast.

Al-Bīrūnī describes another road going out from *Bārī* towards the north-east up to *Bihat* (in Kamarupa) and passing through *Shilahat* (Sylhet); from *Bārī* another road branches out eastwards and goes up to *Gangasā'ir* (mouth of the Ganges), passing through *Ajudaha*, *Banārasī*, *Pātlīputra* and *Dūkampūr*. Another road from Kanauj goes up to *Maṣabb Gang* up to *Prayāk* (Allahabad). A road connects *Prayāk* with *Urdabishu (Urdhavavishaya).*

From *Tānūt* in the north-east *(near Bihat)*, a grand-trunk road reaches *al-Qubbat al-'Uzmā* (the Great Dome), from which point Tibet

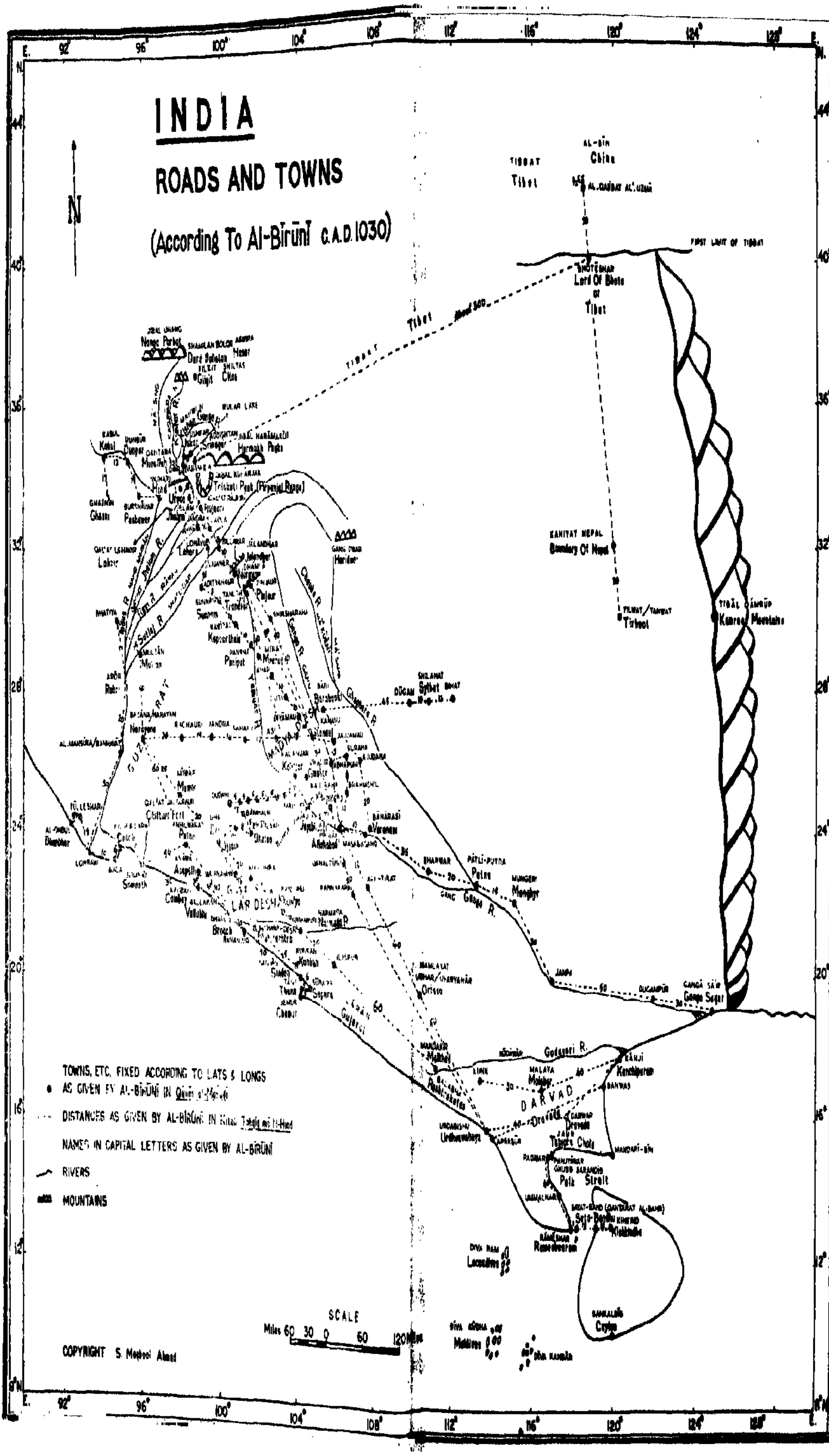
1. See Map drawn on the basis of his description.

and China are described by the author to be less than a *farsakh* (=4 Arabian miles according to al-Bīrūnī, or more than 3 English miles). This road passes through *Naypāl* (Nepal) and *Bhūtèshar*, which according to the author was the first limit of Tibet. From *Bhūtèshar*, a grand-trunk road, going north-west across Tibet, reaches Kashmir.

Al-Bīrūnī also describes several ports and towns along the coasts of Peninsular and Western India and gives the distance between *Rāmshīr* (Rameshwaram) and *Sankaldīb* (Ceylon) as 12 *farsakhs*.

Al-Bīrūnī leaves out most of Sind and the southern parts of India from his itinerary, but if his account is read along with the road-systems described by other geographers and travellers like Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Ḥauqal, etc. a complete picture of medieval Indian roads may be formed.

S. Maqbul Ahmad


INDIA
ROADS AND TOWNS
(According To Al-Bīrūnī C.A.D. 1030)
N
TOWNS, ETC. FIXED ACCORDING TO LATS & LONGS AS GIVEN BY AL-BĪRŪNĪ IN Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī
DISTANCES AS GIVEN BY AL-BĪRŪNĪ IN Kitāb Taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind
NAMES IN CAPITAL LETTERS AS GIVEN BY AL-BĪRŪNĪ
RIVERS
MOUNTAINS
SCALE
Miles 60 30 0 60 120 Miles
COPYRIGHT S. Maqbool Ahmad
China
Tibet
Lord Of Bhota or Tibet
Boundary Of Nepal
Tirhoot
Kamroo Mountains
FIRST LIMIT OF TIBBAT
Kabul
Ghazni
Peshawar
Lahore
Multan
Srinagar
Nanga Parbat
Gilgit
Jhelum R.
Satluj R.
Panipat
Meerut
Kanauj
Ganga R.
Gangā R.
Varanasi
Allahabad
Patna
Monghyr
Ganga Sagar
Orissa
LAR DESH
Broach
Cambay
Somnath
Cutch
Daybul
Ujjain
Narmada R.
Konkan
Sopara
Thana
Godavari R.
DARVAD
Kanchipuram
Dravida
Tanjore Chola
Palk Strait
Setu-Bandha
Rameshwaram
Ceylon
Laccadives
Maldives
Gujarat

SOME NAGARI INSCRIPTIONS ON THE QUTB MINAR

Little attention has been paid to the Nagari inscriptions on the Quṭb Minār in spite of their publication by Daya Ram Sahni as early as in 1919[1] and 1926[2]. Many of these are unintelligible, yet there are some which do seem to be historically important. The most interesting of such epigraphs are the following :

(1) A well cut Nagari inscription on the left-hand abutment of the door leading to the encircling balcony in the fourth tier reads : *Srī-Sulatrāna Alāvadīn vi (jaya-stambha)*[3] i.e. 'the victory-pillar of the glorious monarch ʿAlāu'd-Dīn.' Although the Nagari characters are assignable to the thirteenth or the fourteenth century, scholars like Page regarded this record to be the writing of some anonymous visitor and held that ʿAlāu'd-Dīn Khaljī did not make any structural contribution to the Quṭb Minār. There are, however, reasons to regard this to be an authentic record left by some architect or craftsman engaged in repairs or additions to the Quṭb Minār under the orders of the Emperor, for, the contemporary court-historian Amīr Khusrau clearly states that ʿAlāu'd-Dīn directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old Minār[5]. Perhaps the alterations and additions to the celebrated tower, referred to by Khusrau, were done by the Khaljī ruler to perpetuate the memory of some of his conquests, so that he could also associate his glory with the Minār. It is not unlikely that some structural changes in the tower were carried out by ʿAlāu'd-Dīn in the original fourth storey and its top, which perhaps was decked with a crowning

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1. *Annual Progress Report* of the *Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist at Monuments, Northern Circle for 1919 (Lahore, 1920)* pp. 7 ff and appendix B pp iv and v.
2. *J. A. Page, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No 22 An Historical Memoir on Qutb:* Delhi (Calcutta 1926) pp 39 ff Subsequently these epigraphs were also noticed in *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy* 1958-59 (Delhi, 1963) pp 107-109.
3. The second line containing letter *Jaya-Stambha* reported by Sahni is now completely lost.
4. Page, *op. cit.* p. 19.
5. H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India* III (London, 1871) p. 70.

cupola or *chhatrī*[6].

In the same storey, there are two dated Nagari epigraphs, mentioning Sultan Muhamad or Mahammad Sāhi, on the exterior in the eighth course, and right abutment of the door leading to the balcony. The former, which is in bold letters, reads :

(2) *Muhmad Sulatrāna kī rāji Bhādava māsi biju paḍī sātami-dine ghaṭikā 25 janakamātrāh*[7] *Samvat 1382 varshe*

Translation: During the reign of Muhmmad Sultan, on the 7th day of the month of Bhādon, in the year Samvat 1382, in 25th *ghaḍī* in the Janaka-mātrā, (the Minār) was struck by lightning.

(3) The latter inscription states :
Om Samat 1389 varshe Chaitra-śudi 11 Budha-dine Srī Sulatrāna Mahammadsāhi kī kirati

Translation: Om. On Wednesday of the 11th of the bright-half of Chaitra, in the year Samvat 1389, the fame of illustrious Muhammad Shāh (was established here).

There is another record[8], somewhat damaged, occurring in two parts on the fifth course (above the floor of balcony) in the fourth tier bearing the following text :

(4) *Sūtra Lashamana sahadhairasuta Harimani Gaveri* (?) i.e. *Sūtra* (*sūtradhāra* meaning the weilder of measuring-cord i.e. architect) Lashmaṇa (and) Harimani Gaveri, son of Sahadhair. This epigraph appears to record names of the workers (architect and his assistant) engaged in the repair-works.

The first two inscriptions[9], undoubtedly, refer to Muhhammad Tughluq as Muhmad Sulatrāṇa and Muhammad Sāhi, for both the

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6. It is interesting to note in this connection that the inscription on 'Alai-'Darwāza mentions, 'Alāu' d-Din as 'exalter of the foundations of the places of worship' and 'reviver of the marks of Islam'. This was brought to my notice by my friend Mr. W. H. Siddiqi of the Archaeological Survey of India.

7. It is not possible to understand exactly the significance of the term *Janakamātra* perhaps this was some astrological term connected with the measurement of time.

8. This inscription was not noticed by Daya Ram Sahni. According to D. C. Sircar it records the names of two architects Lashmaṇa and Hari son of Sahadhau *Cf. Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy 1959-60* (Delhi, 1963) p. 124.

9. The two epigraphs of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq on the Quṭb Minār are perhaps amongst the earliest dated Hindi records from Delhi.

dates, *viz.* Samvat 1382 and 1389, fall in his reign. The purpose of the first epigraph is to record the damage to the Minar caused by lightning during A. D. 1326. The second one, dated A.D. 1332, although incomplete, refers to the fame of the reigning monarch on a specific day, without mentioning his victories or high sounding titles. A close scrutiny of these records in a proper context reveals that these are inter-connected and were engraved on the Minār with some definite porpose. Sahni[10] takes *kirati* for *kīrtti-stambha*, but to my mind this expression appears to record the establishment of the Emperor's fame on the Minār through some noble deed, which could have been nothing else than the repairs to a portion of the Quṭb, damaged by lightning during A.D. 1326, which were perhaps completed on the 11th day of Chaitra Sukla in Samvat 1389 (A.D. 1332) by the orders of Muhammad Tughluq. Most probably these repairs were carried out in the topmost tier or the original fourth storey of the tower. It is likely that Lashmaṇa was the chief architect for this project.

The most remarkable aspect of the epigraphs, however, can be marked in their location on the Minār, in the lower part of the fourth tier, which suggests the existence of the circular design of the upper part even before the time of Fīrūz Tughluq. On this storey there are records of three Sultans of Delhi, *viz.* ʿAlāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, Muhammad Tughluq and Fīrūz Tughluq and all of these are on the lower part which has a circular form. Up to the eleventh course, the fourth tier is built in red sandstone and thereafter it has marble facing (upwards) contributed by Fīrūz Tughluq. Generally the extant fourth and fifth tiers are considered to be the work of Fīrūz Tughluq[11], but the dated epigraph of Muhammad Tughluq and the undated one of ʿAlāu'd-Dīn clearly prove that the lower part of the tower, up to the height of the balcony-entrance, was already there in existence prior to A.D. 1369, when Fīrūz completed the restoration of the upper storeys. It further indicates that this fourth storey was either originally circular in design or this form was given to it by ʿAlāu'd-Dīn or Muhammad Tughluq[12].

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10. Page, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

11. Y. D. Sharma, *Ḍelhi and its neighbourhood* (Delhi, 1964) p. 47.

12. Both 'Alāu' d-Dīn Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq might have recorded something about the repairs and additions to the Quṭb Minār, undertaken by them on the topmost part of the tower which could not survive, for, the upper portion of the Quṭb Minār was badly damaged by lightining in 1368 and was replaced by Fīrūz by the extant one in A. D. 1369.

The other interesting epigraph, which is partly effaced, on the exterior of the fourth storey in the eighth course records that during the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq on the 15th day of the dark-half of the month of Phālguna in Samvat 1425 (A.D. 1368), the tower was damaged by lightining. It also preserves the names of some of the workers associated with the repairs. Further details of the restoration works carried out during Fīrūz Tughluq's time, however, are available in another inscription occurring on the left side of entrance in the fifth storey. The upper part of this epigraph is on a marble slab and lower one on sandstone. The middle portion of this record from the eighth to eleventh line has totally disappeared now, although it was intact when Sahni noticed it.

The extant text reads :

(5) *Oṁ svasti srī Suritrāṇa Pherojsāhi vijayarāje Saṁvat 1426 varishe Phālguṇa sudi 5 Sukra-dine Mīnāro jīrnodhāra kṛitaṁ Srī Visvakarmā prasāde rachitah Sūtradhāri Ghāhaḍa-Devapālāsuta-dohitra sūtrapātah pratishṭhā nipāti..................silpi sūtra Nānā Salhā dārukarmma Dharmu-Vānāni...........*

Translation : Om. During the victorious reign of the illustrious Sultan Fīrūz Shāh on Friday, the 5th of the bright-half of Phālguna in Samvat 1426 (A.D. 1369), the Minār was restored. The work was completed by the grace of Sri Visvakarman. The architect was Chāhada, son of Devapāla and maternal grandson of (............)[13]. The measuring-cord was dropped.........The craftsmen were architect Nānā (and) Sālhā and the carpenter Dharamu Vānāni......

Sahni has translated the fourth and fifth line as 'the restoration of the Minar was carried out in the palace or temple of Visvakarman[14]. Which cannot be accepted for the reason that no Hindu architect would ever like to call a mosque or its attached Minār as the temple of Viśvakarman, the supreme deity of the Hindu builder-community.

According to Sahni, Chāhaḍadevapāla was the maternal great-

13. *Chāhada-devapāla Suta dauhitra* : does not make a very clear sense, for, it means the Chāhaḍa, maternal grandson of the son of Devapala, was the architect, but in the Indian society of the fourteenth century, it was customary to give father's name instead that of ones maternal great-grandfather. It can, therefore, be a speculated that Chāhada was the son of Devapāla, and due to scrives oversight the name of maternal grandfather was omitted.

14. Page *op. cit.*, p. 43

grandfather of the architect, but to me Chāhaḍa appears to be the name of the architect, for no worker would like to remain anonymous in his own record intended to perpetuate the memory of his remarkable craft.

This epigraph must have been engraved here with the permission of Fīrūz Tughluq, who, on account of his liberal outlook, allowed the architect to attribute the successful completion of the work to his own supreme deity, i.e. Visvakarman, the divine architect. Perhaps the Emperor did not desire that his non-Muslim subjects acknowledge superiority of his own faith although Fīrūz in his official record on the fifth storey of the Quṭb inscribed that the success of the grand restoration work was due to 'Inayāt-i-Subhānī or the grace of God.

On the marble soffit of the archway (in the fifth tier) leading to the fourth balcony a badly effaced inscription reads:

(6) *Samwat 1560 Bhādra Sadi 8(,) 1560*..............................

Translation : During Samvat 1560 (A.D. 1503) on the eighth day of the bright half of the month Bhadon..............(the rest is lost),

The date mentioned herein (i.e. the 8th day of the bright half of Bhadra in Samvat 1560) corresponds with 28th Sept.A.D. 1503 which almost coincides with the period given in the official epigraph of Sikāndar Lodi recording the completion of repairs to the Quṭb Minār on the 23rd Sept. 1503 (the first day of Rabia II in the year A.H.909).

It is therefore, quite probable that the present Nagari inscription was also engraved with the objective of mentioning the repairs conducted by the Lodi ruler, although it seems to be an unofficial version inscribed by one of the masons associated with the repair works.

M. C. Joshi

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15. The tolerant outlook of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq towards his Hindu subjects is also reflected in the Gaya Sanskrit inscription of Thākura Kulachanda, the Governer of Gaya under the Tughluq monarch. The purpose of this epigraph is to record the reconstruction of the shrine of God Dakshinārkka or the Sun Temple (*sūryāloya)* on Saturday, the 13th lunar-day of the dark half of Māgha in V.S, 1429 (i. e. 22 Jan. 1373) by Kulachanda, Fīrūz Tughluq has been refered to in the inscription as Ḍhillipati (Lord of Delhi) Piyarojasāha, the ruler of the western country *(Pāsechyātya suratrāna)* possessing unlimited prowess *(asīmapaurusha)*. of F, Kielhorn, *The Indian Antiquary*, XX (1891), pp. 312 ff,

THE TURKO—MONGOL THEORY OF KINGSHIP

The principles defining the role and standing of monarchy in a polity may be referred to as the theory of kingship, peculiar to that particular power structure distinguishing it from others. A study of these principles is important for understanding the basic character and inner working of a monarchical state. However, there exist few studies of this nature regarding the despotic states of Medieval India. One such study to this date is contained in R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*. In this pioneer work, R. P. Tripathi has also analysed in some detail the features of the Timurid kingship before 1526. These features according to him left their mark on the evolution of kingship under Akbar. Tripathi argues that the Timurid notions regarding kingship were derived chiefly from Turkish, Iranian and Mongol traditions, in all of which a sovereign was considared 'something higher than simply a leader'. He points out that in the Mongol tradition, which is recognised as the most significant influence shaping the Timurid polity, the ruler 'was a political sovereign pure and simple': and, unlike the caliph, there existed no sacred law limiting his powers. While referring to the elective process in the choice of the *Khan*, which could be interpreted as a factor limiting the autocratic nature of the Mongol Kingship, Tripathi explains that the choice was very narrow and had nothing to do with any spritual or religious connotations. The crux of his interpretation lies in the thesis that Babur's victory over the Afghans 'further strengthened' the trend of centralisations in the state structure[1]. It seems that, by implication, Tripathi endorses Rushbrook Williams' view that Babur was 'the very embodiment of absolute kingship' based on divine sanction[2]. The assumption behind such an understanding would be that the Timurid political structure was essentially oriented towards a highly centralised state capable of holding together a vast empire and that in this respect it was far superior to the structure of the Afghan power which had reduced the *Sultanate* into a confederacy of

1. Cf. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, second edition, Allahabad, 1959, pp. 91, 92, 105, 106 and 128.
2. Rushbrook—Williams, *An Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, reprinted S. Chand & Co., Delhi, p. 161.

tribes holding different regions.[1]

In this paper an attempt is made to reconsider Tripathi's thesis regarding Timurid kingship on the basis of a critical scrutiny of the available data including such sources as have became accessible in print or translation only recently. Such a study, it is hoped, would enable one to arrive at new conculusions regarding some of the essential features of the Timurid kingship and thus help pin-pointing certain structural complications in the Mughal system under Babur and Humayun which contributed to its failure and collapse in 1540.

Tripathi has termed the principles of kingship current at the time of early Timurid rulers as 'Turko-Mongol theory of kingship' on the understanding that these principles were evolved mainly as a result of the blending of the Turkish and Mongol traditions, both oriented towards greater centralisation, which facilitated their blending. However, on closer scrutiny of the evidence there arise serious discrepancies in holding such an assumption. For example it is yet to be fully established that the impact of Turkish tradition on the Timurid institutions was really as great as it is sometimes made out to be[2]. No doubt Babur claimed Turkish identity[3] and as large number of the nobles serving under him consisted of Turkish speaking Turanis of Mongol descent who owing to their cultural background were categorised vaguely as turks[4]. But there is no firm evidence that the Turkish poli-

1. In a recent study, my colleague Mr. Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqi, has disagreed with the view that the Afghan empire under Bahlul Lodi 'was a sort of confederation of Afghan tribes presided over by the Lodi king'. His argument against this thesis boils down to the following: "It is unthinkhable that such a successful statesman and military general as Bahlul should have established a confederacy of the Afghan tribes" On the positive side it is asserted that Bahlul was 'a despote in the true sense of the word'. But there is much evidence that needs to be refuted or explained before the above contention is accepted. For instance Bahlul's proclamation promising to the Afghans of Roh to share wirh them 'as brothers' the newly acquired territories, which is treated by the author as authentic, goes against his own contention. Cf. I. H. Siddiqi, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, Aligarh, pp. 4-5, 9, 10.
2. Cf. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India*, Columbia University Press, 1964, p. 136, who maintains that 'the Mughal dynasty was Turkish in origin'.
3. Cf. *Babur-nama*, tr. by S. A. Beveridge, London, 1921, pp. 4, 158 n 1, 529.
4. The Chaghtais of Farghana were a 'Turkish' speaking group. Babur himself was ignorant of the 'Mughal' dialect, his mother tongue being Turkish. He has referred to his Central Asian nobles and troopers in a blanket manner as Turks to distinguish them from the 'local soldiery of Bhira'. *Babur-namo*, pp. 4, 155, 389.

ical institutions evolved before the Mongol upheaval had been revived to any appreciable extent by the Timurid princes, including Babur himself[1]. Moreover, second part of Tripathi's assumption attributing absolutist tendencies to the Mongol kingship is also open to question. There is no basis whatsoever for thinking that the Mongol traditions provided for the kind of subjugation of the nobility to the crown that was visualised in a Turkish state. On the other hand, from a study of the relations between the nobility and the king, during the time of Akbar, it would seem that the growth of the autocratic features of the 'Mughal' kingship was directly related to the erosion of the Chaghtai complexion of the polity.[2]

In working out the non-Mongol features of Timurid kingship Tripathi has relied mainly on the *Malfuzat-i Timuri* which, as he has pointed out, is a work of doubtful authenticity.[3] There is no justification for accepting this work as embodying the ideas prevailing in the time of Timur. This work was compiled by a Persian scholar in 1074 H./ 1637-38 for presentation to Shahjahan It was claimed by the compiler, Abul Talib, that the book was based on a Turkish version preserved in the library of Jafar Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Yemen. But in the absence of the original text or any referance to its contents in a reliable contemporary or even later record, it is difficult to accept the above claim in its face value. This impression is further strengthened by the testimony in the present text itself that the version presented by Abu Talib to Shahjahan contained statements and dates which were at variance with the account of the *Zafar-namah* and other known sources of Timur's reign.[4] Hence the principles of kingship given in the so-called

1. One instance of the revival of a Turkish institution was the use of the titles, *padshah* and *sultan-i-azam* by the Timurid kings. Apparently, these titles come into vogue during the reign of Shah Rukh Mirza whose coins carry both the titles. See Rodgers, *Catalogue of the Coins*, part II. Calcutta, 1894, pp. 141-147. Cf. A. S. Beveridge. *Babur-nama*. pp. 1 n 3, 34n 2, whose observation that the title *padshah* 'was not part of the style of any Timurid' until 913 H. (1507 A. D.) is obviously based on a chance but inaccurate remark of Babur (*Babur-nama*, p. 344). For the fact that *padshah* was an old Turkish title and it was used for the Ghaznavide ruler, Subaktigin cf. Uthi. *Kitab i Yamini*, quoted by Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 8.

2. Iqtidar Alam Khan 'The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy, 1560-80', the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1968.

3. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 107.

4. Storey, *Persian Literature*. section II, pp. 280, 281.

Malfuzat- Timuri can by no means be regarded as presenting the notions current during Timur's time. At best these can be characterised as the notions of kingship that had been current in Persia and India, towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

That the acceptance of *Mulfuzat-i Timuri* as a source for the ideas prevailing in the time of Timur may lead to certain unteneble conclusions can be gauged from the following example. Relying on *Malfuzat*, Tripathi has attributed to Timur the idea that 'since God on earth is one and hath no partner, therefore, the vicegerent over the land of the Lord must be one'[1]. Obviously this notion could never have been entertained by Timur who accepted the nominal overlordship of a descendant of Chaghtai Khan living at Samarqand under his sufference. Timur himself never used any title higher than *Amir.*[2] Although Timur's successor Shah Rukh did assume the exalted Turkish, titles of *Padshah* and *Sultan -ul Azam*,[3] the idea of the nominal overlordship of the *Khans* remained alive down to the time of Abu Saeed Mirza. Throughout this period the *Farmans* were issued under the seal of the *Khan* and the latter regarded the Timuri princes as his vassals.[4] Even after the formal discarding of the suzerainty of the *Khan*, the Timurid rulers did not adopt the title of *Khaqaan*,[5] which according to the Mongol tradition would have given then a right to claim overlordship over all those territories and people that had been ruled by Chaghtai Khan. The Timurids claimed descent from a distinguished chief of Chaghtai *ulus*[6] and a vast majority of their

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1. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 107.
2. For the legends inscribed in the coins issued by Timur cf. Rodgers, *Catalogue of the Coins*, pp. 140-141. Compare Bounvat, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. by Wensinik and others, Vol. IV, Leyden, 1934, p. 777, who asserts that in 790 H. (1388 A. D.) Timur 'definitely took the title of Sultan' but he has not specified the source.
3. Cf. Rodgers, *Catalogue of the Coins*, pp. 141-144.
4. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, 83-84, 172.
5. Cf. *Catalogue of the Coins*, pp. 145. 149, 150. Rodgers has read the title *al-khaqaan al-'adl* الخاقان العدل in the legend inscribed on a silver coin of Ulugh Beg's successor, Abdullah, dated 854 H. But it would appear that Rodgers' reading of partly broken legend is erroneous. The expression *al-khaqaan al-'adl* does not correspond with the standard formula which carries the word 'adil عادل and not 'adl عدل
6. For the Timurid claim of decent see, Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Vol. II, tr. by Minorsky, Leyden, 1963, p. 14.

officers also belonged to the Chaghtai clans settled in Central Asia.[1] Under these circumstances it was natural on their part to harbour the ambition of being recognised as the inheritors of Chaghtai kingship. Such a desire would have been further strengthened towards the close of the fifteenth century owing to the rise of Shaibanids, who on account of their descent from Chingez Khan[2] claimed the status of *Khaqaan*[3]. But the fact that the Timurid rulers down to Babur, despite pressing circumstances, and what should have been a natural urge on their part, did not think it appropriate to assume the title of *Khaqaan*, goes to suggest that, owing to a variety of reasons they were forced to concede a special status to the *Khans* of Mughlistan even after discarding their formal overlordship. The first Timurid prince to assume the supreme Mongol title was Babur, who incidentally was also most critical and contemptuous towards 'the Mughals' and called himself a 'Turk'.[4]

The diffidence of the Timurids in assuming the title of *Khaqaan* could be construed as indicating their growing alienation from the Mughal tradition and degree of influence that they accepted from the early

1. According to Barthold (*Four Studies*, Vol. II, p. 31) the Chaghtai kingdom in the fourteenth century was not regarded as Muslim, 'Timur's warriors wore pigtails like heathen Mongols. When during the siege of Damascus (1400-1401) Timur's grandson Sultan-Husain betrayed his people and went to the besiegers, they first of all cut off his pigtail and made him change his clothes'.

   Out of 112 non-Indian nobles of Babur, who served under him in India, 52 can be easily identified either as Chaghtais of Central Asia or Mughals hailing fron Kashghar region (Mughliastan). For the biographies of Babur's nobles see *Hast Risalah-i Taqwim al-Buldan*, MS.No. 45, Buhar Collection, National Library, Calcutta, ff. 93a-106a. It contains an anonymous *tazkira* of Babur's nobles compiled in 1783. (This work is mainly based on the *Baburnama*, but regarding certain individuals it furnishes stray information not to be found in other sources.)

2. Barthold in tn *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Winsinik & c. Vol. II, Leyden, 1934 p. 272. Shaibanids claimed descent from the Mongol prince Shaiban, a brother of Batu Khan.

3. The Shaibanid ruler, Abdullah Khan, who ascended the throne in 1510 A. D. seems to have assumed the title *Khaqaan*. Cf. Rodgers *Catalogue of Coins* p. 149.

4. It would appear that Babur assumed the title of *Khaqqan* after his victory over Rana Sanga in 1527. This is borne out by the fact that Babur's claim of being a *ghazi* is registered in the legends of the coins which include the title of *Khaqaan*. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* Calcutta, Vol. III, Oxford, 1908, pp. 1-2.

Turkish institution of royalty. Repeated references in the contemporary records, particularly in the *Babur-nama*, to the Timurids and the officer serving under them as 'Turks', and making a clear distinction between them and the 'Mughals', would further reinforce such an impression. It would however be a misleading idea. The categories of 'Turk' and Mughals as used in *Babur-nama* and other contemporary Timurid records have little racial implication.[1] There is a reasonable basis for holding the view that sometimes the distinction between the 'Turk' and the 'Mughal' also denoted a heirarchical division among the people of the Mughlistan itself.[2]

Hence the claims of the Timurid rulers of Central Asia and their nobitity to Turkish identity and their contemptuous attitude towards the 'Mughals should not mislead one to think that in the Timurid polity the absolutist traditions of the early Turks had a greater role as compared to those of the Mongol origin. Although they had abandoned the Mongol language and certain social etiquettes in favour of Turkish language and Central Asia customs, the position of the Timurid royalty and its relations with the nobility continued to be governed by traditions evolved under the early Mongol Khaqaans) which are variously

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1. From *Babur-nama* it appears that 'Mughal' and 'Turk' were purely cultural categories. Sometimes two persons claiming affinity to the same clan would be differently identified as Turk and Mughal in keeping with the region from where they hailed and the language they spoke. While a Chaghtai Mughal settled in Samarqand or Andijan and having Turkish as his mother-tongue would be called a Turk, a man with similar affiliations but hailing from Kashghar or from some area further in the interior of Mughalistan, where some Mongol dialect was spoken would be categorised as a 'Mughal'. A specific example illustrating this is as follows: While Hindu Beg of the Quchin clan was regarded as a Turk, the people of Mughalistan claiming to be of the same clan were regarded as 'Mughal' subjects of the *Khan* Cf. *Babur-nama*, 25, 26, 301, 389. For Hindu Beg's identification as Quchin, see *Haft Risalah-i Taqwim al-Buldan*, f. 125. b.
2. It would appear that Babur was reluctant to apply the designation 'Mughal' to his maternal uncles, the *Khans*, of Kashghar and Khotan, whom he always refers to as 'Chaghtai Khans.' Apparently, the contemptuous designation of 'Mughal' was reserved for the nomads of Mughalistan who were not loyal even to 'their own *begs*'. Hence sometimes the categories of 'Turk' and 'Mughal' also denoted a heirarchical division among the people of Mughalistan. It is significant that even when he is writing in resentment, Babur observes the courtesy of referring to a 'Mughal' noble simply by his clan designation (i. e. Aiyub Begchik) while his followers are dubbed as 'Mughals'. *Babur-nama*, pp. 13, 104-105, 318; Cf. Denison Ross, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, introduction, pp. 77-79.

referred to in the chronicles as *Yasa-i Chingezi, Yasa-i Chaghtai, Tura-i-Chaghtai etc.*[1] In this respact the Timurids of Central Asia resembled the Indian Afghans in whose case also cultural transformation[2] failed to bring about a corresponding change in the polity. The fact that the Mongol tradition exercised a strong pull not only in Kashghar and other parts of Mughulistan but also among the Timurid chiefs of Trans-Oxiana, who otherwise were always at pains to demarcate themselves from the 'Mughals', is amply borne out by the account of *Babur-nama* itself. In his account of 1506 Babur makes the following significant observations: "My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the rules of Chingez. In their parties, their courts, their festivals, and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up, they never acted contrary to the *Tura-i Chingezi.* The *Tura-i Chingezi* certainly possessed no divine authority, so that any one should be obliged to conform to them; every man who has a good rule of conduct ought to observe it. If the father has done what is wrong, the son ought to change it for what is right."[3] From this statement it is obvious, that while the *Tura-i Chingezi* had not remained as powerful a force for governing the conduct of the Turkicised Muslim 'Mughals' settled in Central Asia as it was for the nomads of Mughulistan and their chiefs, yet it was recognised by the former as one of the chief sources of tradition. Babur's claim to the title of *Khaqaan* after 1526[4] is further indicative of a tendancy on the

1. For interesting reference to the *yasa'* or *tura* see *The Secreet History of the Mongol Dynasty*, tr. by Wei Kwei Sun, Aligarh, 1957, pp. 164-166 n. 15: Rashid Al-Din Fazlallah. *Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani*, ed. by Karl Jahn, London, 1940 A. D. pp. 30, 58-59, 67-68; *Tarikh-i Guzida*, MS in Leningrad State Museum, no. 153, 472, quoted by Barthold, *Turkistan*, G. M, S. N. S., London, 1958. p. 461 n. 5; Juvaini, *Tarikh-i Jahan-Kushai*, ed. by Mirza Mohammad Qazvini, Vo. II, 1912, p. 24: *Babur-nama*, pp. 59, 155, 298-299, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 69-70; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* ed. by Ahmad Ali & others, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Vol. II, p. 216; Abul Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1877, p. 63.

2. Cf. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, pp. 389-390. It would appear that the Afghan chiefs in Islam Shah Sur's service used to converse with each other in Hindi. Apparently, they looked down upon their homeland as a barren and unproductive territory. For them the ruler of Kabul was no more important than a *muqaddam* or an ordinary local-chief.

3. *Memoirs*, tr. John Leyden and William Erskine, ed. by king, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, 1921, p. 7. A. S. Beveridge's translation is confusing; Cf. *Babur-nama*, pp. 298-299.

4. Supra.

part of Timurids to resuscitate certain Chingezi institutions that had been put into the shade since Timur's time.

Regarding the Chingezi tradition of kingship it must be noted that despite the divine origin of the powers of the sovereign, the tribal character of the Mongol polity did not permit the rise of an absolutism comparable to Turkish monarchy. As Barthold observes in the empire founded by Chingez Khan the principle in force was that 'the empire belonged not to the ruler, but to the ruling family'.[1] And according to Mughal code all those who claimed descent from Chingez Khan would be included in the royal family. This would naturally make the circle of persons of royal lineage and thus sharing sovereignty in a Mongol state very large. If the law that the *Khan* be elected by the princes and high officials from amongst the descendants of Chingez Khan,[2] is viewed in the light of the above it would appear that in practice the Mongol king owed his rise to the throne as much to the nobility's support as would be the case with a Turkish Sultan, though unlike the latter he failed to acquire absolute powers over the nobility.[3]

Another important feature of the Mongol polity discouraging obsolutism was the prevalence of hereditary privileges among a large section of the nobility. According to the Mongol tradition all those claiming to be the off-springs of Bukhu Khatagi, Bukhatu Salji and Boduanchar, the three mythical figures whose birth was attributed to supernatural inspiration, had a special standing senctified by divine origin.[4] For their position and status they did not have to depend upon the sweet will of king. Moreover, three of Chingez Khan's chiefs lieutenants were also allowed certain hereditary privileges which could not be witheld

1. Barthold, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. by Winsinik & Co., Vol. I, Leyden, 1913, p. 861.

2. *The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, pp. 164-166 n. 15.

3. Cf. Nizamul Mulk, *Siyasat-Nama*, Paris 1891, pp. 92, 110. According to the Turkish tradition the ruler was considered the pilot of the world, and the entire humanity his charge and slaves. There also existed a tendency to replace assignments *(iqta's)* by salary in cash. Moreover, the organisation of the army on racial and tribal lines was discouraged.

4. Among these Boduanchar was Chingez Khan's ancestor. But the two others also had a divine origin. Their descendants would naturally claim a higher status as compared to ordinary Mongols. Compare, *The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, pp. 50-51 and Abul Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, Vol. 1, p. 65.

by any ruler without going against the code of the Mongols.[1] If all the nobles serving under Babur who traced their ancestry to the above figures, mythical or real, are taken into account it would appear that a vast majority of his nobles would be claiming a special status by virtue of their birth.

There is sufficient ground to assume that the privileges of different sections of the nobility sanctified by Chingezi tradition were respected among the Timurids till Babur's time. For instance Babur's advice to Kamran not to choose his *wakil-i mutlaq* outside the circle of nobles belonging to a particular 'Mughal' tribe, suggests the prevalence of conventions recognising hereditary claims to certain positions and offices.[2] Another instance hinting at the absence of despotic tendencies in the system can be cited from the history of Sultan Hussain Mirza's reign. He put the name of one of his nobles on *tamgha* and *sikka*. Similarly one of Babur's own *begs* is reported to have set himself up 'on regal footing, starting receptions and a public table and a court and workshop, after the fashion of the Sultans.' Another of his *begs* had kettle-drum beaten at his own gate, notwithstanding his acknowledging Babur as *Padshah*. In 913 H. (1507-1508 A.D.) Shah Beg Arghun the commandant of Qandahar on behalf of the Timurid rulers of Khurasan, 'stamped his letter to Babur in the middle of its reverse, where *begs* seal if writing to one of the lower circles'.[3] Apparently, Firishta had these characteristics of the Chaghtai nobility in mind while observing that 'each one of them considered himself equal to Kaiqubad and Kaikaur.'[4]

The tribal nature of the Mongol polity was further highlighted by the absence of slave bureaucracy from its state organisation. The large scale employment of slaves as imperial officers was a characteristic feature of all the Turkish sultanates including those of Samanis,

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1. For the positions and privileges assured by Chingez Khan to Shigi Khutukhu, Munlike and Mughdi, cf *The Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*, pp. 143-144.

2. Cf. Beveridge's translation of Babur's letter to Kamran, dated May-April 1526, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XV, 1919, pp. 330-333.

3. *Babur-nama*, pp. 119, 249-250, 277, 332.

4. *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Nawal Kishore Press, pp. 245.

Ghaznavids, Seljuqs and Ottomans and the Delhi Sultanate.[1] Nizamul Mulk, who has tried to summarise the principles of state-craft practiced by the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs, describes at length the various stages of training and promotions of a slave before he could attain, in a period of seventeen years, the status of a *sipah-salar*.[2] In the Delhi Sultanate this institution became so prominent that in the course of time the relationship between the king and his nobles tended to be recognised at par with those of master and the slave.[3] Among the Timurids down to Babur's time such a bureaucracy was conspicuous by its absence. It was introduced into the Mughal state organisation by Akbar who in 1561 not only gave a high office to slave (I'timad Khan) [4] but also introduced the concept of *banda-i dargah* a noble regarded as slave of the king notwithstanding his legal status. A direct consequence of this significant change in the theoretical basis of the king's relationship with the nobility was the revival of the practice of escheat which has fallen into disuse since the fall of the Tughlaq empire. In 1575 the entire property left by Munim Khan, the senior-most Chaghtai noble of the realm, was confiscated setting aside the claims of his heirs in a very demonstrative manner.[5] On the other hand, it is worth remembering that in 1542 Humayun thought it necessary to take a formal statement from a dying Mughal officer writing off a small debt that the king owed

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1. Compare, notes by D. Sourdel, C. E. Bosworth, P. Hardy and Halil Inalcik, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. by B. Lewes and others, Vol. II, Leyden, 1965, pp. 1079-1091.
2. *Siyasat-nama*, Paris, 1891, A. D., p. 95.
3. Afif, *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, p. 445. Sultan Firoz Shah, well-known for his anxiety to adhere to *shari'at*, justified confiscation of the property of Bashir Imad-ul Mulk on the ground that the latter was a manumitted slave. Compare M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Asia Publishing House, 1966, p. 63 n. 2.
4. *Akbar-nama*, Vol. II, p. 79. Cf. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 65. Mir Abdul Hai's comment quoted by Badauni goes to suggest that the rise of a eunuch *(Khwaja sara)* to a position of importance in the administration was considered a sharp break from Timurid tradition.
5. Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar*, ed. by Hidayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 349-351. It is sometimes maintained that the property was escheated because Mun'im Khan had no heirs. But this is not true. One person, who according to the Muslim law, would have received a part of the inheritance was Mun'im Khan's wife, Suyur Agha, but she was not allowed even small amount needed for performing the rituals connected with mourning. Cf. however, M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, p. 64 n.2.

him.[1] From this example it would become obvious that in the relationship of the Timurid king with his nobles, until Humayun's time, there was no scope for the concept of *banda-i dargah*. It was something which the Timurid rulers in India borrowed from the legacy of the early Turkish rulers of Delhi.

Concluding this discussion it may be suggested that the administrative and military difficulties of Babur and Humayun partly stemmed from the Mongol characteristics of the Timurid polity. While the task of holding together vast territories in Hindustan required a highly centralised administration, there was little scope of building such a state organisation on the basis of the Timurid tradition of kingship. Such dichotomy in the nature of the political aim and the organisation through which it was sought to be achieved would naturally result in breakdowns and ruptures. This would partly explain the crisis in Humayun's relations with his nobility during the periods 1538-41 and 1545-53. In fact Humayun's defeat at the hands of Sher Shah (1540) and the protracted civil war in Afghanistan (1545-53) were essentially the manifestations of a break-down in the relations of the king and the nobility. But the gradual elimination of the senior Chaghtai nobles and corresponding erosion of the Chaghtai features of the Timurid polity, in due course, resolved this crisis and facilitated the transformation of the Mughal Empire into a highly sophisticated absolutism under Akbar. While rejecting the Mongol heritage, the Indian Timurids, from Humayun onwards, drew heavily on the traditions and practice evolved under Turkish rulers of the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

Iqtidar Alam Khan

1. Jauhar Aftabchi *Tazkirat-ul-Waqi'at*, MS. in British Museum, Add. 16, 711, f. 45a.

WAJH'-I-MA'ASH GRANTS UNDER THE AFGHAN KINGS (1451-1555)

The Sultans of Delhi treated the *masha'ikh* (saints) and the *'ulama* (religious scholars) with respect and made maintenance grants to them as much an act of piety as a gesture which brought fame and popularity to them. Since the *masha'ikh* and the *'ulama* commanded great respect amongst the people, it was in the larger interest of the governing classes to enjoy their goodwill. The Sultans and their nobles approached them for blessings, gave them money, made land-grants and also employed them as highly venerated officers of the State. The land-grants, conferred upon them for subsistence became an institution of social and economic importance in due course of time and continued to exist throughout the period of Muslim rule.

During the Afghan period (1451-1555) the appelation, employed both in the official documents and contemporary Persian literature for these land-grants appears to have been *wajh'i ma'ash*[1] (allowance for

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1. During the early period of the Sultanate of Delhi, the terms used for land-grants to the pious and scholarly people were *milk*, *wazifa*, *waqf* and *ina'm*, while the land-grants, made for the maintenance of a religious shrine was called *waqf* and *Auqaf* (plural of *waqf*). Subsequently *wajh'i ma'ash* and *wajh'-i-milk* became popular and were used in the official documents for all the land-grants, conferred upon the scholars and other religious dignitaries. The earliest reference to the *wajh'i ma'ash* grant is found in the documents of Firoz Shah's reign, contained in the *Insha-i-Mahru* (letters of 'Ain ud Din 'Ain-ul-Mulk Abdullah bin Mahru). *Insha-i-Mahru*, Edited by Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Lahore, 1965 Letters no. 4 and 5 pp. 13,14.

   Sultan Firoz Shah also uses the terms, *milk*, *waqf* and *wajh'i ma'ash* for land-grants in his Fatuhat. *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Edited by Prof. Abdur Rashid Aligarh, 1954, pp. 15, 16, 17.

The Lodi Sultan adopted all these terms for the land-grants in the beginning of his rule. Later on, *wajh'i* was placed as a prefix to *Milk* as the *parwanah* of Masnad-i-'ali Mahmud Khan Lodi shows, cf, *Parwana*, contained in the *'Tazkirat-ul-Kiram*, being the *History of Amroha*, Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, Mahbub Press, Delhi, Faisimile, facing p.34.

Sometimes, during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, *wajh'i-ma'ash* seems to have been adopted finally and was used in the official documents. Therefore, Babur

subsistence), *wajhi'milk*, *amlak* (plural of *milk*) *wazifa* (stipend), *waza'if* (plural of wazifa), *waqf* and *Auqaf* (plural of waqf) and *In'am* (grants). The *waqf* grants were made for the maintenance of the religious shrines—mosques and tombs, while *In'am*—grant was conferred upon the poets and artists, attached to the royal court.

Wajh'i-ma'ash was thus a grant in land, assigned to the *Masha'ikh* (Saints), *Saiyids* (the descendants of the Prophet, through his daughter, the wife of 'Ali, the fourth caliph of Islam), the *'ulama* (religious scholars), poets and other deserving persons such as widows, for their maintenance in recognition of their piety, need, learning or any service, rendered to the state. These land-grants were given to the aforesaid persons for lifetime as well as in perpetuity. There was a separate department, called *Sadarat* that was charged with the work of looking after these grants. The minister in charge of this department was known as *Sadr-u's-Sudur*, who was expected to be well versed in the Islamic learning.

By these grants the Sultan alienated his right to collect the land-revenue and other taxes, collectively called *Sa'irjihat* in the area covered by the grants made in favour of the grantees. The *farmans* issued to the *Wajh'i-ma'ash* holders usually contained a few sentences warning the state officials not to interfere with the land grants which were tax-free. In this way the grantees were freed from all obligations that a peasant or even *zamindar* had to perform. But the *wajh'i-ma'ash* holders could neither deprive the peasants of their occupancy rights nor they could affect the *zamindari* or *malikana* rights, established over

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Continued from the previous page.

also adopted it without making any change as the available *farman* shows. cf. Babur's *Farman*, Edited by Prof. Muhammad Shafi, *Oriental College Magazine*, Part I, May, 1933. Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi, the celebrated saint of the Lodi period also refers to these grants as *wajh'i-ma'ash*. *Maktubat-i-Quddusi*, Ahmadi Press, Delhi, p. 236.

Also *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, Rotograph of the Ms. (British Museum, London) ff. 11b, 32b, 33b, etc.

1. The early Persian writers use the terms khuts, *Muqaddams* and *Chaudhry* for the hereditary village potentates. But the writers of the 14th century call them collectively as zamindars. The available documents of the Sur period shed light on the fact that the *zamindari* rights could be sold and purchased. These documents, recently acquired by the History Department of the Aligarh Muslim University are actually sale-deeds and related to the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah.

cf. *Calendar of Documents*, Dr Irfan Habib, *The Indian Economic and Social History Reviews*, Vol.IV, No.3, Sept. 1967, p. 222.

the agricultural lands and enjoyed by *zamindars* (also called Khuts and muqaddams). The zamindars acted as intermediaries between the state and peasantry and were paid some percentage of the share of agricultural produce, collected from the cultivators. The *zamindari* rights were hereditary and could be sold or purchased by people. [1]

Contrary to it the *wajh'i-ma'ash* grants were always of non-proprietary nature. Neither they could be sold nor inherited by the successors of the deceased grantee. Similarly the grantee could not demand land-revenue more than the standard demand, fixed by the state at different rates for different territories in accordance with the productivity of the soil. In fact, they were held during the royal pleasure, for the Sultan always had a right to resume them at any time (as will be discussed subsequently). But the *wajh'i-ma'ash* holders enjoyed a better and more privileged position than the *zamindars*, because the former were invested with all the rights, claimed by the Sultan for himself in the agricultural produce. For this reason certain *zamindars* could aspire for acquiring the status of a *wajh'i-ma'ash* holder in addition to the *zamindari* rights over their villages. The interesting anecdote, recorded by Shaikh Kabir in his work sheds light on the matter: a certain Brahmin *zamindar* wants his future king to promise him the grant of his village as a *milk* in perpetuity, in return of his services to him.[1] In fact, the zamindar's share in the agricultural produce of the village which he collected from the peasants for the State was meagre in comparison with that of the State. In case, he was by chance, granted the village or some of its part under cultivation, over which he had previous control as a zamindar, as an *in'am* or *milk* for State service, he would keep the entire revenue of that land with him. The land-grant made to the *zamindar*, either as *in'am* or *milk* could be for his life-time as well as in perpetuity. In any case his *zamindari* rights always remained hereditary; his descendants were not deprived of family *zamindari* unless they themselves alienated it by sale or a rebellious act.

The *wajh'i-ma'ash* grants are reported to have been made, both, as a rule, in terms of *bighas* and entire village according to the status

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1. *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, f. 71a-b
The anecdote referred to above, though based merely on hearsay, reveals the difference between the position of *zamindar* and *wajh'i-ma'ash* holder during the Medieval times. It is also indicative of the fact that no major change took place in the nature of *wajh'i-ma'ash* grants from the early time of the Muslim rule to the Afghan period.

of the grantee. In case, it was made in terms of *bighas*, the *gaz-i-sikandari* and later *gaz-i-Sher Shahi* (yards) might have been used to measurs the *bighas* of the grant.[1] Now doubt may arise as to whether the grants were ever made in *bighas* before Sher Shah as measurement (*zabt* system) was not the only mode of assessment in practice. The contemporary evidence shows that the *'ulama* and other deserving persons were granted the maintenance land in *bighas* even before the Lodi period.[2] Due to the expansion of the families of local Sayyids, Shaikhs and an increase in the number of the *'Ulama*, the rulers were no longer in a position to make large land-grants to every claimant; they were consequently forced to reduce its size. In certain cases the large grants were broken into parts to be distributed among the descendants of a deceased grantee, provided the state renewed it in favour of the latter. The large grants, comprising one or more than one village were conferred upon those who were very much distinguished for their piety, learning or influence over people as will be discussed subsequently.

At times, it happened that certain celebrated saints and Sufis were given a few villages alongwith some plots of uncultivated land specifically mentioned in the *farman*, so that the grantee might bring it under plough.[3] The grandfather of Shaikh Bayazid Sarwani is reported to have been granted two thousand bighas of land in *wajh'i-ma'ash* in the *pargana* of Banur (*Sarkar* Sirhind) by Sultan Bahlul. Shaikh Bayazid Sarwani held this grant till 1526 when he had left for Roh after the fall of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.[4] The references to the *wajhi'-ma'ash* grants, contained in the *waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi* reveal that the grants made in terms of *bighas* alone were smaller in size than those comprising villages.[5]

1. cf. My *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, Aligarh, 1969 pp. 158,162
2. A few important documents, contained in the *Insha-i-Mahru* are related to the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah (Tughlaq) and shed light on the rights of the grantees. They substantiate the fact that since the 14th century the land-grants were made in terms of villages and bighas as well. It could consist of a few hundred *bighas*, an entire village or even more than a village as the status or influence of the Scholar or Saint demanded.
Insha-i-Mahru, 'Ainul-Mulk Mahru, pp. 14, 15, 74, 75, etc.
3. *Anwar-ul-'Uyun*, Shaikh 'Abul Quddus Ganghoi, pp. 16-17.
4. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 92,
5. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 13b, 14b, 22b, e.c.

The Afghan kings made land-grants in villages to those revered people who were supposed to be the leading *'Ulama* and *Mashai'kh* of the country. Sometimes, they did it with discreet ostentation to earn popularity for championing the cause of religious people. Besides the fact that the grantees ran institutions of learning was also taken into consideration by the rulers. Many of the scholars maintained *madrassas*, kitchens and mosques without charging any fee from their students. They fed people free of charges. For example, Shaikh Allahadad, a popular saint of Bihar, who ran a madrassa was granted a few villages near the town of Bihar (modern Bihar *Sharif*) by Slutan Sikandar Lodi.[1] The other *Mashaikh* and *'Ulama* were also given land in terms of *bighas* for their maintenance.[2]

Similarly, the example of Haji Shaikh Hasan and his younger brother, Shaikh Nasrullah may be cited. The brothers belonged to an old religious family of Bengal. Having returned from Mecca, Shaikh Hasan decided to settle down in Bayana in 1528. Upon it his younger brother also joined him with other family members in Bayana. Although we do not have any information about their relations with the Mughals, they had a large land-grant, consisting of several villages for maintaining a *Madrassa*, a *langarkhana* (kitchen for distributing food among the needy people) and a spacious hospice during the reign of Sher Shah. Shaikh Hasan delivered sermons about the importance of pious and religious life, while the younger one issued *fatwa* (religious decree) and gave instructions in religious knowledge to his pupils. On their death, Shaikh 'Ala'i, one of the sons of Shaikh Hasan undertook the responsibility of maintaining the aforesaid institutions as he was the most learned among the family members. He ran them till he became a Mahdevi preacher under the influence of 'Abdullah Niāzī towards the close of Sher Shah's reign. He gave up the ways of his forefathers, and devoted himself completely to the service of the poor.[3] As he also abandoned his house and *wajh'i-ma'ash* grant, his brothers might have taken over the charge of the institutions.

The two rare documents of the Lodi period substantiate the fact, discussed above. The first document is the *Parwana* of *Masnad-i-'ali* Mahmud Khan Lodi (Shahu Khail), issued to *Shaikhul Mashaikh*,

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1. *Afsanah-i- Shahan*, ff. 27b.-28a.
2. *Ibid*, f. 32a
3. Badauni, (English tr.), Ranking, i/508-510

Bandagi, Mian Shaikh Chailda, one of the descendants of Shaikh Farid U'ddin *Ganj-i-Shakr*, regarding the grant of two villages in the *pargana* of Nindru (now in district Bijnore), then in the Khitta of Sambhal in 899 A.H. The term, used for the grant in the *parwana* is *wajah'i-milk*.[1] The second document is the *farman* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, issued in 927 A.H., with regard to land grant, made in terms of bighas. According to this *farman* 300 *bighas* of uncultivated land out of the village Gonda, near Chakesar, in the parganah of Sandila under *Khalisa*, was granted to Hasan, son of Barkhurdar Husain.[2]

The available information about the Sur period also shows that the *a'ima* were given land-grants in terms of *bighas* as well as in villages as the case might be.[3] But four out of seven documents of the Sur period, so far known to us, are concerned with the grants, made in

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1. *Parwana* of *Masnad-i-'āli* Mahmud Khan, op. cit. *Tazkirat-ul kiram*, p. 34.

2. cf. *Farman* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Edited by Prof. Muhammad Shafi, proceedings of the *Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia*, second session, held at Lahore, 1936, p. 283.

In actual fact this is a *sanad* of land-grant. The upper portion is written in *nasta'liq*, the lower portion transliterates the Persian text in Hindi script. The size of the paper is 8¼" X 5¾" in 6 lines of Persian covering about 5 inches. The transliteration of the same in Hindi character is written in 8 lines. This document is, from its language and contents, quite free from any suspicion of forgery or fabrication. The text of the farman is:

۱- این سطور تحریر یافت درمعنی آنك سی صد بیگه زمین بنجر متجمله موضع گونڈه

۲- متصل چکیسر اعمال پرگنه سندیله باسمی شیخ حسن برخوردار حسین ازبندگی حضرت

۳- سلیمانی خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه عمل خالصه دیوان اعلی

۴- شقداری ملك ابوالفتح وصول گردانیده شده است

۵- بدهندو یاد دارندا زین بابت مزید تاکید نطلبند

۶- دیده(؟) است

۷- اطاس والعشرین شهرمرجب رجب سنه سبع عشرین و تسمانیه

3. The relevant data, contained in the chronicles sheds light on the fact that the leading *a'ima*, reputed for their high learning and piety were granted villages by the Sur kings as will be discussed later on.

in terms of *bighas*; the rest are sale-deeds.[1] Sher Shah's *farmans*, two contained in the Oriental College magazine and one available in the National Archives of Allahabad (U.P.) show that the grants comprised half of the land under cultivation (*Mazru'a*) of the peasants, enjoying occupancy rights and the remaining half *Khud Kasht*, i.e. waste land to be brought under cultivation by the grantee himself.[2]

The fourth document is a private letter, written by a noble of Islam Shah to one of his fellow nobles warning of the ill-consequences of his usurpation of the fifty *bighas* of *wajh'i-ma'ash* land belonging to Shaikh Raju, one of the *Hajibs* at the royal court.[3]

The land, mentioned as *Banjar* in the *farman* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and *Uftada* in the *farman* of Sher Shah, referred to above, means the waste-land to be brought under cultivation by the grantee themselves. It was called *khud kasht* after it had been ploughed. It was generally on the waste land that the *wajh'i-ma'ash*-holders established their *khud kasht* holdings. They cultivated it either themselves or through their servants.[4]

As for the land, mentioned as *Mazru'a* in the official documents, it was the peasant held land. The *farmans* of Sher Shah indicate that in his days it had become a standing rule that half of the grant was

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1. *Documents of the Sur period*, available in the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. They are dated December 1542, January 1543, July 2, 1545 and April 9, 1550.

   Also cf. *Calendar of Documents*, Dr. Irfan Habib, *The Indian Economic and Social Reviews*, Vol. IV, *no*. 3, September, 1967 pp. 222-223.

2. Sher Shah's *farmans* in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. IX, *no*. 3 (May, 1933), pp. 123-127.

   Sher Shah's Allahabad *farman*, 318.

3. *A Sur Document*, Edited by Prof. Mohammad Shafi, Proceedings of the *Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia*, second session, held at Lahore, 1936. *op. cit.*

   This is a private, but unsigned letter, written on July 24, 1548. The addressee is an individual Ahmad by name, who had taken possession of 50 bighas of land belonging to Shaikh Raju *Hajib*. The latter is said to have been a favourite of the King's cousins, Ibrahim Khan (Sur) and Mubariz Khan Sur.

4. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 22b-23a.

   Here Mushtaqi incidentally refers to the land of Bandagi Shaikh Muhammad of Ajodhan who cultivated it through his sarvants during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.

Mazru'a land (already under cultivation) and the remaining half comprised the *Banjar* (cultivable waste). In the *Mazru'a* land the grantee realized revenue from the peasants according to the standard rate, fixed by the state for the neighbouring region. In other words the grantee could not think of enjoying any other right that was not claimed previously by the State. But he was free from all fiscal obligations, such as the payment of various taxes to the State exchequer which a *zamindar* had to do.

This also deserves to be noted that in every territory the area, yielding a certain amount of revenue was earmarked for distribution among the *a'ima* in *wajh'i-ma'ash*. According to Mushtāqī the revenue of the area, reserved in the newly conquered territories of *Mulk-i-Bala* (the hilly territories of Nagarkot, etc.) for distribution among deserving people was three lac *tankas* during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.[1] Since Sultan Sikandar is not said to have originated this practice, we can presume that it was an age-old one and the Lodis continued it. But Sher Shah appears to have given it up after he became the Emperor of Hindustan as will be discussed.

Generally the land-grants were made for the life-time of the grantee; they could be renewed and restored to his descendents after his demise, provided they were considered deserving for maintaining the traditions of piety and learning like their ancestor. Similarly, in case of the death of a ruler or the dynastic change, the grantees had to approach the new royal court for the renewal of their grants as certain documents show.[2] On renewal of the grants, the grantees went to the *Shiqqdar*[3] or the officers concerned, who allowed them to retain the land. As regards the fresh grantees, they were also issued *farmans*, containing a passage which not only set out the rights and favours conferred upon them but also directed the officers of the parganas to measure the land and then hand it over to the grantee.[4]

1. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 32b.

2. Babur's and Sher Shah's farmans, in the *'Oriental College Magazine*, *op. cit.* They contain references to the *farmans* of Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi regarding the grants, renewed and confirmed by them.

3. cf. *Position of Shiqqdar under the Sultans of Delhi*, Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad,-Deccan, October, 1967 pp. 237-238.

4. Sultan Ibrahim Lodis *farman*, op. cit.

Sher Shah is reported to have changed the system of issuing the *farman* to the grantee directly. 'Abbas Sarwani informs us: "For the correction and betterment of the grantees, he did not hand over *Farmans* to them. He ordered the *sadr* to bring them to him after drafting. The (*farmans*) were then sent to the *parganas* concerned. As the *shiqqdars* were informed (by the farmans), they measured and gave the land to the grantees. Thereafter the *farmans* were given to the *a'ima*",[1] so that they might keep them safely as proof.

It may also be noted that the land-grants were unconditional during the Lodi period, atleast no condition or obligation was specified in the official document. There is no evidence to the contrary; no obligation was imposed upon the grantees explicitly in return for the *wajah'i-ma'ash* land, assigned to them for their maintenance. The outward purpose of the grants was only to support the class of people, devoted to learning and religion. But in actual fact, the generous grants were intended to enhance the prestige of the crown in the public. The wise rulers like Sikandar Lodi and Sher Shah surrounded themselves with theologians and holy men, amongst whom were many of wide renown and influence and used them as envoys and propagandists.[2] Some of them were attached to the mundane world and they willingly served the kings improperly in the hope of royal reward. For intance, Shaikh Farid of Daryabad was employed by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to incite the *Shaikhzadas* of Chanderi to kill *Masnad-i-'ali* Mian Husain Farmuli, the powerful muqta of that vilayet whom the Lodi Sultan did not like. On his murder by the *Shaikhzadas*, Shaikh Farid Daryabadi was given ten villages, in *Wajah'i-ma'ash* as a reward for his indecent act.[3]

With the advent of Sher Shah to sovereignty, obligations seem to have been imposed upon the grantees. The available documents of his reign show that certain *Wajah'i-ma'ash* holders were asked to offer their five-time prayers in congregation in the local mosques and render military help to the local officers whenever required.[4] The Allahabad *farman* prescribes a regular exercise in archery for the grantees, so that they

1. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 121.
2. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 26a, 53b, etc.
   Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani; also, *Badaoni*, i/399.
3. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 649.
4. *Farman* O.C.M. *op. cit.*

might render effective military help to the State at the time of need.[1]

Let us now discuss the policies of different Afghan kings, adopted in respect of the *ai'ma* and *wajah'i-ma'ash* grants. Sultan Bahlul Lodi, the founder of the first Afghan Empire is reported to have been very kind to the *ulama* and saints. But in the absence of decumentary evidence for his reign, one can not state definitely as to whether he made land-grants in bighas or gave complete villages to the deserving persons. Nizam U'ddin says, probably on the authority of the contemporary historical work, *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi* of *Mahmud Katwani* that he renewed all the grants of the previous kings to their holders after his occupation of Delhi in 1451.[2] Mushtaqi's account of Behlul's reign, though brief and gathered from hearsay, indicates that he was interested in the well-being of the religious persons who could have access to him without any difficulty. The Sultan helped them by granting stipends (*wazaif* in cash) and *wajh'i-ma'ash* grants as well.[3] It was this generous attitude towards the *ai'ma* that enhanced his prestige and influence amongst his contemporaries. At times, the leading saints supported his cause against the sharqis of Jaunpur. Shaikh Sama-uddin Suhravardi publicly reprimanded the Afghan and non-Afghan nobles for joining hands with Sultan Husain Sharqi against him, and succeeded in winning some of them to Bahlul's side, when he called Bahlul a God fearing man and also foretold his victory over his rival.[4]

A careful study of the Medieval literature reveals that the dynastic change never affected the position of the old grantees very much. In certain cases an inquiry was constituted whether the old *wajh'i-ma'ash* holders fulfilled the necessary qualifications for retaining their grants, and they were usually confirmed in their possessions after the fact had been ascertained. Because new Sultan thought it proper on his part not to deprive the deserving persons of their *wajh'i-ma'ash*, for their resumption could make him unpopular among people. On the contrary the dynastic change, sometimes, led to an increase in the number of the *wajh'i-ma'ash* holders, because new grants were made to the new favourites and those who came to India from abroad after having been

1. Allahabad *farman*, 319, *op. cit.*

2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, i/293.

3. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, f. ba-b

4. *Siyar al-'Arifin*, Shaikh Jamali Kambo, p. 177.

attracted by the munificence and generous patronage of the Sultan to the men of religion and learning.

During the times of the successors of Bahlul, the number of the grantees increased considerably. It is said that Sikandar Lodi's generosity attracted people-saints, *'ulama* and other literary persons from Arabia, Iran, Central Asia and different parts of India. They were either absorbed in the nobility or granted *wajh'i-ma'ash* lands, so that they might devote their time to learning and worship without any worry of livelihood.[1] As regards the local *Sufis*, scholars, and Saiyids, they were also treated kindly. Sultan Sikandar is reported to have laid down in the *farmans*, issued to the nobles with regard to their maintenance *iqtas* that the *wajh'i-ma'ash* lands were excluded from them, so that the grantees holding land might not be deprived of their sustenance-land.[2] This evidence provides us with a clue to the understanding of Sultan Sikandar's considerate attitude towards the *ai'ma*. It is indicative of the fact that besides making fresh grants to the Ulama, saints and new immigrants, he left the old grants in his Empire untouched without ascertaining whether the old grantees had genuine claim to them. As a matter of fact these grantees, being the descendants of the respectable families, known for their learning and piety commanded great respect among the Muslims. Having been granted *wajhi-ma'ash* lands, some of them turned to be the apologists and propagandists of the State. An anecdote, contained in the *waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, throws interesting light on the States' anxiety over protecting the rights of these grantees. The anecdote goes to tell: Once a Saiyid, resident of the town of Arwal (in Gaya district of Bihar) came to the court and complained before Sultan Sikandar that Malih Turk, the *wajhdar*[3] of the *pargana* (of Arwal) had occupied his small tract of *wajhi-ma'ash* land. The Sultan ordered the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*

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1. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 8b, 33a.
   Tarikh-i-Da'udi, p. 3b.
   Also *Masnad-i-'ali* Mian Bhu'a, (A Scholarly statesman of Medieval India), Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, Vol. 20, No.3, September, 1967, p.34
2. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 34b, 65a-66a.
   Tarikh-i-Da'udi, p. 48'
3. The *wajhdar* was the state officer who was assigned a maintenance *iqta* instead of cash salary for maintaining an army contingent for the service of the Sultan. *Wajh* in Persian means salary and *wajhdar* salary-holder.
   cf. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 147-50.

(Revenue Ministry) to look into the matter. Two months elapsed but the issue was not decided, for both the parties (the grantee and the *wajhdar*) defended their positions. At last the Sultan himself decided to settle the dispute; the *'ulama* attached to the royal court, Malih Turk and the Saiyid grantee were summoned and the proceedings were personally checked by the Sultan. On going through them, he discovered that Malih Turk, the *wajhdar* of Arwal was guilty of misappropriating the land and Saiyid was just in his claim to the land. Thereupon the Sultan said to the *wajhdar*: "I have ordered that no one (noble) would oppress anyone and it is specifically mentioned in the *farmans* (regarding the maintenance *iqtas* of the nobles) that *wazaif* lands were excluded." Then Malih Turk was dismissed from the royal service for ever.[1]

Sultan Sikandar was indeed anxious to revive the past traditions of learning and scholarship in his Sultanate. For this purpose the *'ulama* were given stipends and lands for subsistence in large number, because they established *madrassas* and taught students there free of any charges. We know it for definite that he established *mosques*, *madrassa* with *ai'ma* in the newly-conquered territories of Bihar and eastern Rajputana and was never niggardly with monetary help.[2] Many of the *ulama* whom he held in high esteem for their high learning were honoured with presents every year in addition to the land-grants. Mushtaqi informs us that whatever gift the Sultan gave to a person of learning or piety in his first meeting, he never discontinued it. The person concerned got the gift whether it was cash money, robe of honour or anything else every year at his residence.[3]

It may also be pointed out that certain ministers and officers, entrusted with the department of Justice, education and other religious affairs belonged to this class.[4] On their appointments in different capacities, these people were assigned *iqtas* and allowances like other nobles, posted in the army or charged with the work of administration in different regions. These *iqtas* and allowances were always in addition to their *wajhi-ma'ash* grants.

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1. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 13b-14a.
2. *Tabaqat-Akbari*, i/329.
   Tarikh-i-khan-i-Jahani, i/185, 204, 217, 218.
3. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 26a-b.
4. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, 8b, 13b.

During Sikandar Lodi's reign the posts of *amir-i-akhur* and *Hajib* were held by the members of the land-grant-holding families. 'Umar Khan Kambo (Sultan Sikandar's *amir-i-akhur*), Maulana Juman (Hajib-i-Khas), Qazi 'Abdullah (son of Tahir Kabuli), Shaikh 'Umar, Shaikh Ibrahim (both *hajibs*) and Shaikh Ladan Kambo (the Imam of Sikandar Lodi) deserve mention in this regard.[1] By virtue of their being taken in the state service, they got salary and allowances in cash while their land grants also continued to be held by them. Becuase they belonged to the distinguished families of the country, the members of which were known for their learning and religiosity. Like the Kambos, the Indian *Shaikhzadas* and the local Saiyids, some of the Afghan nobles also held simultaneously the *amlaks* and *iqtas*, in case they held position in the army or the nobility as nobles. Generally their *amlak* lands were of the nature of *waqf* attached to the tomb of the family ancestor who had been a saintly man in the past. In such cases, the descendents had to work as the *Sajjada Nashin* (spiritual suscessor of the saint and the trustee of the *dargah waqf*)[2]. Those who entered the state service as military men, got *iqtas* for the maintenance of their family and the servants, such as *Sawars* and footmen, according to their ranks and position in the official hierarchy.

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, successor of Sultan Sikander Lôdi not only renewed and confirmed the land-grants given by his predecessors but also favoured many new persons in an attempt to earn good name. The available evidenee shows that he surpassed his father aud grand-father by conferring sustenance-land to everyone who approached him without enquiring whether he deserved it or not. As chaos and anarchy was caused by the rebellions of the nobles in his times, the *'amils* became corrupt and the land grantees also took advantage of the situation. They bribed the *'amils* and with their connivance occupied more land than they were allotted.[3]

With the advent of Sher Shah to power, the old *wajh'i-ma'ash* grants were rusumed by the state and redistributed among the deserving persons after an inquiry was instituted to ascertain the genuine claims

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1. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, i/327. : *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, i/199-200, *Waqi'at-i-Mushtqi*, ff. 13b, 19b, 24b.
2. *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, i/818.
3. *Tarikh -i-Sher Shahi*, f. 112-113*a*.

to them. It was done with a view to taking away the land-grants from undeserving men. Because Sher Shah is reported to have been doubtful about the integrity of many grantees as they had obtained land-grants during the reigns of Ibrahim Lodi, Babur and Humayun by foul means. 'Abbas informs us that having made satisfactory investigation about the affairs of the *ai'ma*, he made agreeable land-grants to them and no one was disappointed. They were called to the court with the old *sanads* or *farmans* regarding their grants and were paid travel expenses at the time of their departure.[1] Mushtaqi corroborates 'Abbas in this matter when he briefly remarks: "He had resumed all the land-grants of the *ai'ma* and then assigned lands to them afresh."[2]

Like the Lodis, Sher Shah was considerate to the *'ulama* and *mash'-aikh* from the beginning of his career. The available documentary evidence shows that he considerably helped the *ai'ma* in Bihar before his occupation of Delhi, even though his resources were meagre at that time.[3] After his rise to supereme power in India, he said: 'It is incumbent upon the king to give *madad-i-ma'ash* to the *ai'ma*, for the splendour of the cities of India is due to these *'ulama* and saints'.[4]

We may now turn to the procedure adopted by Sher Shah with regard to the confirmation of *wajhi-ma'ash* grants. It is said that for the convenience of the state as well as for checking the grantees and officials from using unfair means to occupy land illegally, the farmans, issued with respect to the land-grants, were sent directly to the shiqqdar,[5]

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1. *Ibid.* f. 113a.
2. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 49b.
3. There is Emperor Akbar's *farman*, issued in favour of Makhdum Saiyid Husain, son of Makhdum Hasan Danishmand in 1576, regarding the renewal of the grant of village Sultanpur, 12 miles south of Bhagalpur in the *thana* (Police Station) of 'Umarpur, district Bhagalpur. There is a specific reference to the *farmans* of the preceding regime. Akbar's *farman* was issued after his occupation of Bihar in 1576 and it is now available in the library of Shah Fakhr-i-'alam, the descendant and *Sajadanashin* of the great saint's *dargah* in Bhagalpur. Shah Sahib says on the basis of his family traditions and the family tree that Sayid Makhdum Hasan Danishmand was married to the niece of Darya Khan Nuhani, Sultan Sikandar's *Muqta* of Bihar. However, it is true that the ancestor of Shah Sahib was one of the leading saints of Bihar and was shown respect by his contemporary Afghan rulers.
4. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 113a
5. cf. *Position of the Shiqqdar under the Sultans of Delhi*, Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan.

so that he might allot the land to the claimant in the village, specifically mentioned after measuring it properly. When the land was measured and given to the grantee, the *shiqqdar* handed over the royal farman also to him for keeping it as a *sanad*.[1]

Mushtaqi relates an anecdote about a certain Saiyid whose land grant was resumed by the state after the expulsion of the Mughals. This anecdote corroborates 'Abbas about Sher Shah's treatment of the claimants of the *wajh'i-ma'ash* lands. The Saiyid, mentioned in it, belonged to Radauli whence he came to the royal court in Delhi for the renewal of his grant. Being satisfied by his claim, Sher Shah ordered him to be given four hundred rupees in addition to the travel expenses. His land-grant of four hundred bighas was also renewed.[2]

Besides Sher Shah was also generous towards other needy people who did not belong to the *ai'ma* class but deserved financial assistance for their inability to earn their livelihood. He is reported to have ordered his high officers to maintain records of all the disabled and handicapped persons in different towns, cities and territories. All of them got maintenance allowances in cash and kind as well.[3] He was actually interested in helping his subject people in their miserable life. The Hindi poet Malik Muhammad Ja'isi testfies to this fact: "The world touched this sun, and became gold compact, so that poverty fled and went beyond the borders of his kingdom. He who but once approacheth him and asketh, for all his life is free from hunger and from nakedness. Even that (king of old) who performed ten horse-sacrifices, he gave not holy gifts like him.[4]

It may also be noted down that he was very strict in resuming the land-grants of all those who failed in fulfilling the obligations they owed to the religion and the society. He kept himself well-informed of the activities of the state officers as well as the leading *ai'ma* and severely censured those whom he found negligent of their duties. For instance, the case of Shikh 'Isa Miswani (Kakar Afghan) is a case in point. The Shaikh was one of the celebrated saints of the time and held a number of villages in the *sarkar* of Hisar Firoza both as a hereditary *chaudhry*

1. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 113a
2. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, f, 52 a.
3. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 112b Also *waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 49b.
4. *Padmavat*, Jai'si Eng. tr. A.G. Shirreff, Calcutta, 1944, p. 14

(zamindar) and *wajh'i-ma'ah* holder. But it was reported to Sher Shah that Shaikh 'Isa was addicted to wine and did not deserve to be treated as a pious man. Sher Shah got angry and deputed a spy to investigate the fact. Fortunately the Shaikh succeeded in impressing the state spy by his saintliness and the latter in his turn changed his royal master's adverse opinion about the saint. In this way Shaikh 'Isa was left untouched.[1]

Again, the point deserves to be stressed that Sher Shah expected the *ai'ma*, enjoying land-grants to devote themselves to the service of religion and mankind. Because the responsibility of imparting education and religious instructions to people lied upon their shoulders; the duty of the State was to give financial assistance to them. But the fact that certain *'ulama* and Sufis had influence with the Muslims and it could be utilized by the king in consolidating his rule, should also be taken into consideration. Many *'ulama* were assigned maintenance-land or given *wazifa* in cash for rendering help to the State, and they could do it at various times. The available evidence, relating to the times of Sher Shah, shows that he often helped those persons whom he never considered loyal to him, for they were held in esteem by people, for a little regard shown by him to them was certain to add considerably to his popularity among people.

Once Sher Shah was annoyed by Shaikh Budhan of Maner for the sympathetic attitude which the latter had towards Humayun in Maner at the time of his back journey from Gaur to Agra. He is said to have decided to punish the Shaikh after his victory over Humayun, but he changed his mind after the battle of Chausa. although the Shaikh was apprehending his doom. Sher Shah rather granted him twelve thousand *bighas* of cultivated land and was consequently praised by people in Bihar. The Shaikh commanded great respect in Bihar. He ran a *madrassa* which attracted pupils from distant places.[2] Similarly his treatment of one of the descendants of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar shows that even if the claimant of land grant failed in impressing him by his religiosity, he showed consideration to him, in case he belonged to a reputed family of a saint. The descendant of Shaikh Farid looked very shrewed and cunning to the king, yet he ordered his secretaries to

1. *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, ii/824
2. *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, f. 112b.

issue the *farman* regarding the renewal of the village which the Shaikh held (in the Punjab) in *wajhi-ma'ash* since long. But it is interesting to note that Sher Shah ordered all the relatives of the Shaikh to be mentioned as partners in the farman and then remarked: "The Shaikh is very shrewed, he would deprive every one otherwise."[1]

Sher Shah was also kind to all the *Shaikhs*, Saiyids and *ʿulama* who came from foreign lands and settled in his Empire. Though the chroniclers do not provide us with information about the arrival of important *Ulama* from foreign countries during the period under review, the scattered references to them in their chronicles with regard to some extraordinary events shed light on the matter. Badaoni's reference to Shah Muhammad supports our statement. Shah Muhammad came from Iraq to India during Sher Shah's reign and settled in Delhi. He called himself Saiyid and received favours from Sher Shah. Islam Shah, whom Badauni accuses of disregarding the Islamic *Shariat* in the State matters, also had great respect for Shah Muhammad and paid frequent visits to him during his stay in Delhi. During Islam Shah's reign two other Saiyid brothers, Mir Talib and Mir Shamsuddin came from Iraq and settled in Delhi. Mir Talib was distinguished for his knowledge of Tib (unani medicine) and the other was a religious Scholar, well-versed in law. On account of their past association with Shah Muhammad, they sought his help for approaching the king. The latter introduced them to the royal court and then had proper arrangements made for their permanent stay in Delhi.[2]

Apart from the land-grants made to the religious persons, mention may also be made of the *waqf*-lands consecrated by the Sultans to the newly-constructed mosques and *Madrassas* attached to them. Both, Sultan Sikandar Lodi and Sher Shah are credited with the construction of mosques in different territories and reserving the revenue of some land under cultivation on a permanent basis for their upkeep.[3] Sher Shah is said to have studded every large *sarai*, designed to be the administrative headquarter of the locality under the *Shiqqdar* all along his highways, with mosques and *Madrassas*. For their maintenance *waqf* land-grants were made, and the *imams* and *mu'azin* were paid there allowances out of the income yielded by the *waqf*-land.[4]

1. *Afsanah-i-Shahan* f. 121b.
2. *Badaoni*, Vol. I, 392-393
3. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, i/332
4. *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, i/216, 217
Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, ff. 108b-109b.

The Sultans did not build the mosques only to please God or earn fame among the Muslims but also to make their rule felt by alien people in the conquered territories by having the Khutba read in their names. The Sultans were particular of the two things, i. e. the coins should be struck and *khutba* read in their names on every Friday at the time of congregational prayer, for they were considered to be the proof of the acceptance of their rule by pepole in a region.

Likewise, the available evidence, though brief and scanty, makes it clear that the Muslim rulers had started giving land-grants to the Brahmins, temples and *Maths*. If all the odd bits are taken together they indicate that the need of bringing the countryside with its influential chiefs under effective control must have caused considerable change in the traditional outlook of the Sultans towards their non-Muslim subject people. The anecdote, contained in the *Afsanah-i-Shahan* and referred to above, also implied that the Sultans had begun to give villages to the Hindus *in milk* in recognition of their services to them. Abdullah furnishes valuable information in his acount of Sher Shah regarding his favourable attitude towards the non-Muslims. Abdullah relates that at the time of leading expedition against Kalinjar, Sher Shah, by chance, came across a Brahmin who belonged to some village in the *pargana* of Hamirpur, a dependency of the *sakar* of Kalpi, and enquired from him whether the officer in charge of the *pargana* was governing it properly or not. The Brahmin told him every thing correctly without knowing that the man, engaged in conversation was his emperor. The latter was much pleased by his honest speaking and rewarded him with the grant of the entire village in which he resided, in *in'am* and five hundred rupees in cash.[1]

The evidence, contained in the *Tawarikh-i Daulat-i Sher Shah*, a spurious work of Hasan Ali Khan, the so-called contemporary of Sher Shah that "the Hindus are also granted *waqf* by the government .... This is under the management of five Hindus," is somewhat important in so far as it implies that the legends had developed about Sher Shah's liberal policy towards the non-Muslims.[2] In fact, by the time of Sher Shah's occupation of north India, it had become a well-established pra-

1. *Tarikh-i Da'udi* pp. 138-139.

2. Cf. *Tawarikh-i Daulat-i Sher Shahi*, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1950 p. 63.

ctice in India that Brahmins or their ancient places of worship could also be considered for maintenance-land. For instance, Sultan Sikandar Lodi is said to have granted maintenance-land to a jain saint, Jaimbuji near Malesar, in Bikanir.[1] Emperor Humayun also made a grant of 300 *bighas* of land in Mirzapur district (U. P.) in favour of the Jangamvadi Math of Banaras before Sher Shah. The original *farman* is available with the people of Math.[2]

The nobles who made generous land-grants to the saints and scholars out of their own maintenance -iqtas also deserve to be discussed as it helps us in understanding the nature of relationship between the *a'ima* and the nobles on the one hand and in analysing the socio-religious trends in the nobility on the other. But it must be made clear at the outset that the nobles gave land-grants only to those persons in whose piety they had faith or whom they considered useful for the consolidation of their authority in a region. In both the cases, however, they earned fame. A little consideration shown to the scholars and saints by a noble was certain to raise his prestige and thus made him popular in the society, for the saints and 'ulama not only attracted people for blessing but also had their disciples in different sections of the society.

The *parwana* of *Masnad-i'ali* Mahmud Khan Lodi (Shahu Khail) issued to *Shaikh-ul-Mashaikh* Shaikh Chailda, a descendant of Baba Farid Ganji-i Shakr in 899 A.H. (1493 A.D.) contains a grant of two villages in the *pargana* of Nindru (now in district Bijnore).[3] When the *Masnad-i'ali* was transferred to the *sarkar* of Kalpi as its *Muqta*,[4] there also he might have given villages and lands to the *a'ima* according to their status. Rizq Ullah Mushtaqi states about Khan-i-Jahan Lodi (former Mian Husain S/o Khan-i-Jahan, the elder, cousin of Bahlul): "Everyone amongst the *'ulama* and *Mashaikh*, who came to

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1. *Tarikh-i-Bikanir*, Munshi Sohan Lal, (Urdu). Munshi Sohan Lal's source of information is the Contemporary Rajasthani Work, Sambu Sagar, which is from the pen of Sambuji himself. In this work sambuji refers to his meeting with Sikandar Lodi in shlok no. 29, pp. 319-320 and says that the Sultan was deeply influenced and had agreed to treat people in the region of Bikanir kindly.

2. Cf. *Religious Policies of the Mughals*, Sri Ram Sharma, (Asia Publishing House) 1962, p.10 (f, No. 10 on p. 12).

3. *Parwana*, *Tazkira-ul-Kiram*, (being *Tarikh-i-Amroha*), Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi, op. cit. p. 34.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, i/316

him, got village and land or stipend (as the case might be)."[1] The same writer says about *Masnad-i'āli* Mian Bhua that he had villages and *parganas* of his maintenance-iqta, scattered in different territories and whenever any one of the *ulama* and *Masha'ikh* approached him for help, he asked him to choose his *wajh'i-ma'ash*-grant in any village of his choice. When he expressed his choice, the *Masnad-i'ali* issued the *parwana* accordingly.[2]

However, the nobles took interest in providing the men of religion and learning with financial assistance in the from of land-grants, and it certainly affected their own income, derived from the revenue of their maintenance-iqtas. The high nobles possessing large iqtas could give even villages to the individual saints while the smaller ones made grants in terms of *bighas*. It is reported that every one, particularly amongst the important nobles who displayed generosity in this respect was praised and honoured by Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Once the Sultan remarked about such a noble: "He has done good, he should not have any setback (in the life hereafter)."[3] Hence the nobles who had thus become conspicuous were *Masnad-i'Ali* Khan Azam Umar Khan Sarwani, *Masnad-i'ali* Mahmud Khan Lodi (Shahu Khail), Khan-i-'Azam Khan-i-Jahan Lodi (former Husain Khan Lodi), Khan 'Azam Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani. *Masnad-i'ali* Khawwas Khan, Mian Bhua (Sultan Sikandar's famous wazir) *Masnad-i'ali* Zainuddin, *Masnad-i'ali* Khwaja Said Farmuli and Daulat Khan Lodi. Their culture and munificence attracted *ulama*, literati and poets from different parts of India and abroad as well. They provided all of them with maintenance lands and stipends.[4]

During the Sur period also, the Indo-Afghan nobles maintained the traditions of generosity and large-heartedness associated with the Muslim aristocracy since long. The nobles kept ulama and poets in their service, paid frequent visits to the *Mashaikh* and gave them land-grants according to their needs and position. *Masnad-i'ali* Isa Khan Sarwani whom Sher Shah had appointed the supreme governor of the

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1. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, 28b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 33b.
3. *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, i/219.
4. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 32b, 33a, 33b for details about the nobles.

extensive *sarkar* of Sambhal,[1] deputed Shaik Dattu Sarwani to settle the administration of the *parganas* of Khan and Tilhar (Shahjahanpur district) of his maintenance iqta and restore the lands, granted to the *ai'ma* previously. The widows and other deserving people were given *wajh'i-ma'ash* lands lavishly in his maintenance-iqta.[2] But *Masnad-i'ali* Khawwas Khan (son of Sukha, Sher Shah's slave) surpassed all the nobles of Sher Shah in his generosity. Himself a saintly man, spent lavishly on the ulama, saints and men of letters. He maintained a large number of them at his court wherever he was posted and also assigned land to them in his *sarkar* of Sirhind which he held as his maintenance-iqta.[3]

All the grants, given by the nobles were of temporary nature, for they had no royal sanction behind them. The grantees held them during the pleasure of their patrons or till the time the patrons were not transfered from the particular *iqtas;* although the transfer of the noble from one place to another did not take place very frequently during this period.[4] Likewise the death of a noble also caused the resumption of these land-grants. Even if the son of the deceased noble was confirmed by the Sultan in his father's rank and position as it usually happened, he was free to cancel the grants made by his own father. Because it was for him to decide whether he would part with some amount of his income derived from the revenue of his maintenance *iqta*. Sometimes the decision taken by the noble in this matter was shapped by his personal like and dislike for certain people. The evidence available in the *Lataif-i-Quddusi* shows that the sons and successors of *Masnad-i- 'ali* Khan Azam Umar Khan Sarwani did not like Shah Abdul Quddus (Gangohi) to enjoy their father's patronage but they could not do anything against the Saikh as their father had faith in him. On Umar Khan's death, they asked the Saikh to leave Shahabad, one of the parganas included in their *iqta* in the *sarkar* of Sirhind; they had succeeded their father in his position.[5] But it should not be taken for granted that in every case the son and successor of a deceased noble deprived the *ai'ma*, favoured by his father of their grants. Generally the sons were expected to respect the commitments made by their

1. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 81 a-b.
2. *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p, 83-84.
3. *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 57a, 59a.
4. *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, pp. 152-155.
5. *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p. 41

father. *Masnad-i- 'ali* Mian Bhua and the Sarang Khani *muqtas* of Jaunpur vilayet may be specifically mentioned in this regard.[1]

Since the period of the Sur dynasty did not last for more than fifteen years, the nobles or their families could not continue to hold the *iqtas* for generations. But the nature of land-grants made by the nobles remained unchanged during the Sur period also.

SADR AND SADARAT

The *Sadr* was a highly venerated minister who presided over the department of *Sadarat*, basically establishea for controlling the religious affairs of the state and providing sustenance to the *ulama'*, saints and other deserving persons. In this way he was expected to safeguard the interest of the *ulama* class by recommending them to Sultan for state stipends and land-grants. Often, he combined with his own, the duties of chief *qazi* (chief justice) and *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. In his latter capacity he could issue decree in regard to religious issues relating to the Muslim community or both, the Muslim state and the community. His patronage to the men of learning and piety considerably added to his popularity in the society and also helped him in controlling educational institutions and having influence over public opinion.

During the Afghan period, most of the *Sadrs* seem to have been distinguished for their wide renown as just men devoted to the cause of piety and learning. Though the definite evidence about the *sadr* of Bahlul's reign is wanting, Sultan Sikandar Lodi's *sadrs* were his famous *wazirs*, *Masnad-i- 'ali* Khawwas Khan and after him, his son Mian Bhua. Endowed with the excellent qualities of head and heart, Khawwas Khan not only distinguished himself as a talented military general and able administrator but he was also Singular for his learning and devotion to the men of piety.[2] He seems to have been entrusted with the charge of *Diwan-i-Wizarat* and *sadarat* after the death of Khan ʿAzam Umar Khan Sarwani[3] who seems to have died, sometimes in 1496.

1. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, ff. 33b, 34b, 36a-b.
2. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* f. 32b.
3. *Firishta*, p. 178.

Firishta says that 'Umar Khan Sarwani was the Wazir of Bahlul. He is corroborated by Mushtaqi's references to the Sarwani as commander of the Afghan advance guard during the early years of Sikandar Lodi's reign. It was

Towards the close of his life, the *Masnad-i- 'ali* was deputed by Sultan Sikandar for the capture of Nagarkot (called by Mushtaqi as Mulk-i-Bala, and now in Himachal Pradesh) with the specific orders that after having conquered the territory, he would make land-grants to the *a'ima*, not exceeding the revenue of three lac *tankahs*. But *Masnad-i- 'ali* Khawwas Khan, whose generosity knew no bounds, distributed among them the land, yielding fifteen lac *tankahs*. On his return to the royal court, he reported the matter to the Sultan and also requested him to deduct all the amount in excess from the revenue of his *iqta* of which the state exchequer was deprived due to his misplaced generosity. But the Sultan did not dislike his action; he rather pleased Khawwas Khan by endorsing it.[1]

On Khawwas Khan's death, his rank and posts were granted to his eldest son, *Masnad-i- 'ali* Mian Bhua.[2] Though Mian Bhua never appears to have distinguished himself as a military general as there is no reference to his participation in any battle, he was an able administrator as well as one of the celebrated scholars of his age.[3] He combined in himself the departments of *Wizarat*, chief *qadi* and *sadr*,[4] and continued to perform his duties till the early years of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's reign. Sultan Ibrahim got annoyed with Mian Bhua over certain matter and threw him into prison,[5] where he died soon afterwards.[6]

Upon Mian Bhua's fall, the department of *Sadarat* was separated from the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*. The *Sadarat* was entrusted to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, who had taught Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in his childhood, while Dilawar Khan (the son of *Masnad-i- 'ali* Mian Bhua) got the charge of the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*.[7] The new wazir is reported to have been a

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the highest privilege of a noble to lead the advance-guard of the royal army in Medieval times.

1- *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 33a.

2- Cf. *Masnad-i-'ali Mian Bhua* (*A Scholarly statesman of Medieval India*), Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, *op. cit.*, p. 35-36

3- *Ibid.* p. 36-38

4- *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 32b-33a

5. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, i/347

6- *Ibid*, p. 347

7- *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, i/347 *Zubdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Nurul Haq, Rotograph of the MS. (British Museum, London), f. 79b-80a for Shaikh Farid's appointment as *Sadr*.

great womaniser[1] and thus unqualified for the post of *Sadr*. Shaikh Farid who was a scholar of established fame and also belonged to an old respectable family, plunged headlong into politics. He joined hands with the favourite nobles of the Sultan and brought about the fall of nobles whom he suspected to be disloyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.[2]

As regards the *Sadr* of Sher Shah, we do not find mention of his name in any available work. Abbas refers to Sher Shah's *Sadr* only once while discussing the resumption of old *Wajh'i-ma'ash* grants and their redistribution as already discussed. A study of the works of Abbas and Badaoni suggests that Shah Rafiuddin, who was in his service, held the posts of *Sadr* and Shaikhul Islam as the latter is reported to have been consulted by him on different occasions about religious issues. But it is definite that Sher Shah did not delegate absolute powers to his *Sadr* in regard to the distribution of land-grants. He personally interviewed the claimants of the *Wajh'i-ma'ash* and issued *farmans* to them about the land-grants after having ascertained the genuinness of their claim. The *farmans* were drafted and the details about the land-grants and grantees were recorded by the secretaries under the supervision of the *Sadr*.[3] No doubt, Sher Shah had great respect for certain *ulama* and saints and, sometimes, appears to have acted on their advice, yet he could not be reconciled to the idea of delegating full powers to his *sadr* in connection with the grant of stipends and sustenance-land to the *ulama* and *Mashaikh*.[4] His policy of looking into the claims of the *a'ima* to *Wajh'i-ma'ash* grants and then deciding the cases on the ground of genuine need and merit, saved his *sadr* from the unavoidable charges of favouritism and discrimination, so common in those days. Moreover, the undeserving persons who had obtained grants through fraud and bribe were deprived of their unlawful possession. He stuck to this policy throughout his reign. In certain territories, the trusted nobles who were known for the integrity of their character could also confirm the old grants of the rightful persons, particularly in the territory of their jurisdiction.[5]

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1. *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 33a
2. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, Shaikh Jamali Kambo, p. 138-9.
3. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 113 a
4. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 112b *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 54a. Badaoni, i/372, 392. Amongst the leading ulama of Sher Shah's court, mention may be made of Saiyid Mir Rafiuddin, Shaikh Khalil, Shaikh Gada'i Kambo, etc.
5. *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p. 83.

With the succession of Islam Shah to the throne, Shaikh Abdullah Sultanpuri attained to the coveted position of *Sadr* and *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of the Sur Empire.[1] As a favourite of the king, Shaikh Abdullah Sultanpuri succeedded in acquiring tremendous influence over the royal court. He was thus enabled to reduce the other leading *ulama* to a secondary position. Despite this highly privileged position, his thirst for more power remained insatiable, he ultimately secured the office of chief *qadi (Qadi-ul-Qudat)* also for himself. Mian Hatim Sambhali and Mian Jamal Mufti whose primary duty was to administer justice in conformity with the Islamic *Shari'at* were thus placed under his authority. In fact, Abdullah Sultanpuri was one of the greatest theologians of his age. He could impress people by his profound knowledge of Islamic *fiqh* (jurisprudence). But he was also one of the crooked *ulama* who brought miseries to many 'ulama to whom he was comtemptuous, such as the *Mahdavis*.[2]

In the final analysis the role, played by the grantees and the importance of the institution of *Wajh'i-ma'ash* grants may be stated. The medieval *'ulama* who enjoyed the royal grants, were expected to engage themselves in the service of the society and religion; many of them taught children the holy Quran and propagated the Islamic concept of the unity of God in a selfless, humble and devoted manner. They were really the guardians of learning and considered its diffusion among people, belonging to different sections of the society as an act of divine worship. The doors of their *madrassas* and *Khanqahs* remained open to all; the sons of the wealthy and poor people sat together for the acquisition of knowledge. A few of the anecdots, recorded by Mushtaqi in his work show that even the children of destitute widows could become the men of high learning due to the sympathetic attitude and selfless services of the *ulama* to the cause of education.[3] In recognition of these services, the state provided for the maintenance of their educational institutions and families.

This is also interesting to note that certain grantees developed their lands by planting the gardens of mangos and other fruit trees. They constructed wells for the irrigation of their lands as well as for the

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1- *Badaoni*, i/393.

2- *Ibid*. i/406-408

service of travellers.[1] The *Shaikhzadas* of *Chanderi* who were more than ten thousands in number, had planted vast gardens of fruits and flowers around Chanderi, and thus they became the proprietors of the land of gardens during the Lodi period.[2] Likewise, many of the grantees settled in the villages in which they were assigned maintenance-lands and came into contact with the *zamindars* and peasantry. In this way the Muslim urban culture permeated the countryside through them. They also became a link between the state officers in the town and city and the rural population in the villages. They kept the officers well-informed of the conditions of the rural area, and sometimes caused the ruin of the male-factors and anti-social elements in the countryside.[3] Likewise the *ulama* who happened to be ambitious and worldly-minded people, took active part in politics and dangled around the court of the Sultan or his nobles in the hope of material benefit. But they were looked down upon by people. The religious sentiment of the public demanded from the *'ulama* complete devotion to religion and piety.

Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi

1- *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani*, ii/818.
Shaikh Hamza, son of Malik Adam Kakar (a high noble of the Lodi Sultans) was a celebrated saint who flourished during the times of Sher Shah and Islam Shah. He owned a beautiful garden with a well where the travellers took rest and drank water. The garden was planted in the land of *wajh-i-ma'ash*. In the case, when the waste land was brought under plough or a garden was planted there, the grantee acquired proprietary right like *zamindar* and retained it on the payment of a nominal tax which a *zamindar* had to pay on his holding after the grant was cancelled or resumed by the state.

Badaoni's reference to the son of Shaikh Hamza who was also a celebrated saint during Akbar's reign shows that he retained the garden and *Khudkasht*-land in Lucknow, most probably as a *zamindar*, for he does not seem to have applied for the renewal of his *wajh-i-ma'ash* grants. He was a recluse having no attachment with the mundane world. His property was managed by his family relations and servants. *Badaoni*, iii.

2- *Waqiat-iMushtaqi*, ff. 64b-65a

3- *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, f. 56a.

DEPICTION OF FABULOUS ANIMALS (GAJ—VYALA) AT THE DELHI-GATE OF AGRA FORT

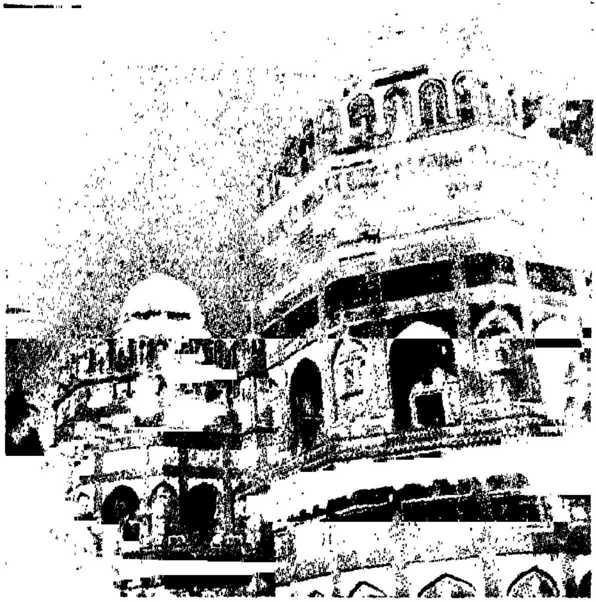
Akbar began the construction of the fort of Agra in 1565 A. D. Its Delhi-Gate, the first monumental gate of the Grand Mughals was completed in 1568-69.[1] It was most profusely decorated; Akbar spared no money or pains to give it a colour and character suitable to the entrance of the Imperial Castle in the Metropolis of the Empire. Magnificance and grandeur of the gateway was no doubt intended to overawe and to embarass the allies and the newly recruited mansab-dars who later formed the bulwark of the Empire. All available artisans were employed; all possible schemes of decoration were adopted. It thus contained the inlay and mosaic, stone-carving chiefly in geometrical designs, stucco in arabesques, painting and of course, the glazed-tilling. Spaces had very judiciously been selected for the display of different techniques of decoration; they were most aesthetically distributed on the western facade which was composed of a central archway flanked on both sides by attached double-storeyed octagonal towers (Plate-I). The harmony and rhythm with which these different and varied forms of ornaments were used entitled the architect to the greatest credit. Much of it has, however, been defaced but enough remains to remind how graceful and superbly magnificent the effect originally had been.

The inlay here at the Delhi-gate has mainly been used on the panels above the second storey arched openings, just below the frieze and cornice. These panels depict fabulous animals which are their only examples in the Mughal architecture. There are 12½ panels on each side of the gate, each panel showing double animals or ducks separated in the former case by a geometrical pattern and in the latter by an Assyrian palmette.

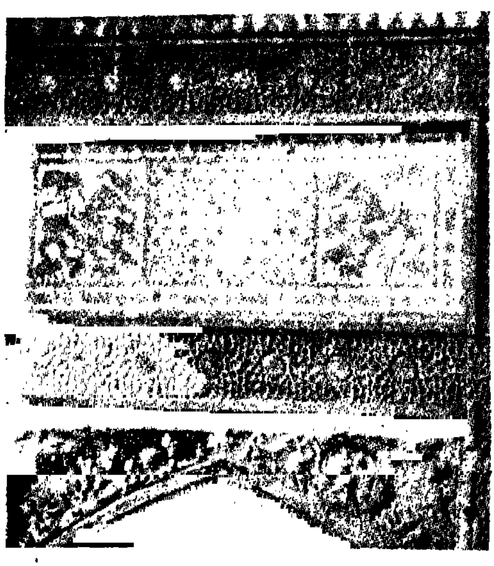
The composite animal is a curious one (Plate-II). Its four legs and

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1. Al-Badaoni—'*Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*' Vol. II (W.H. Lowe) (Calcutta, 1924) p. 112; the mnemosynon 'The Elephant Gate is without compare' contains the date of its completion. The Delhi Gate was originally called the 'Hathiya-Paur' or the Elephant Gate on account of two life-size stone statues of elephants



(Plate No. I)



(Plate No. II)

the upright tail are those of lion; the thin waist also seems to have been borrowed from the lion motif. The neck and the upright ears (which are not horns) have apparently been borrowed from the horse. The mouth is that of an elephant with his unmistakable tusks and trunk. Part of elephant's ear can also be seen. Besides, there are two wings supported on subsidiary four feathers inlaid with white marble pieces on a red sandstone slab. Tusks and nails are also in marble. Eye is presented in black marble. Thus the animal is composed of a lion, a horse, an elephant and a bird.

This fabulous animal is fighting with seven elephants at a time, one it is holding tight by its tail, four are under its claws, one has been hurled into the air and the seventh awaits its fate under the trunk. One panel on either side shows seven elephants while other five panels on each side have six elephants only. Fabulous animal is the same on all the 12 panels.

Each such panel is alternated at angles by other panels showing ducks in pairs with the Sassanian 'kushti' or 'sash' or the fringed ribbon which is so much associated with depiction of royalty under Sassanian art. Each such duck has an extraordinarily curved and open buck. The duck is separated with its counter-part on the panel by a traditional Assyrian palmette. The duck and the palmette are inlaid with white marble on red sandstone. Black marble has been used for prominent parts as eyes and crown. Both types of panels have simply but appropriately been bordered.

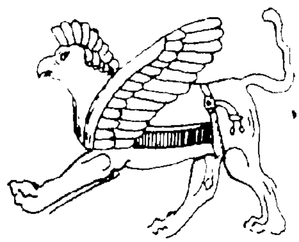
The appearance of these animals on the first and the most monumental gateway of Akbar, and that too so prominently, warrants a careful study or its background. We come across the use of composite animals in the Assyrian art e.g. in the Palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad (722 B.C. — 705 B.C.).[2] The forms which had generally been used in Assyria were the man-headed, bearded, winged bull, winged and bird-headed lion etc. Winged deities with bird's head have also been used e.g. at the Palace of Ashur Nasir Pal (885 B.C. – 860 B.C.) at Nimroud.[3] In Assyria and Babylonia "Superstition and symbolism everywhere prevailed and it is evidenced in the man-headed bulls, placed

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2. Fletcher, Sir Banister—'*A History of Architecture*' (On the Comparative Method) (16th Edition, London, 1956) pp. 50, 51, 58; also see figures E, F on p. 51 and Fig. E on p. 52 etc.

3. ibid. fig. H p. 66.

as benificent genii at palace entrances to ward off evil spirits."[4] There seems to be no doubt that the compositicn of the animal had been determined by symbolism and its depiction prominently on the palace-entrances by superstition (Plate-III for Assyrian Griffon).



THE ASSYRIAN GRYPHON

The Greeks borrowed many ornamental features from Assyria which included the palmette and honey-suckle and of course the fabulous animals. The examples of bird-headed winged lions have survived at Priene.[5] The Romans also copied it almost unconsciously as in the temples of Antoninus and Faustina showing winged, bird headed lions carved on the frieze.[6] The Greeks and the Romans adopted the motif less as matter of superstition and symbolism as did the Assyrians and more as an ornament.

The mythological representation of Ahura Mazda in the pre-Islamic Persia is in the form of an enormously winged deity.[7] Peacock-dragon, again a composite animal, had been used frequently in the Sassanian art prior to the advent of Islam.[8] Winged griffins were also used. Here again their use is guided by symbolic considerations than by a simply aesthetic outlook.

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4. ibid. p. 50.
5. ibid. p. 129 fig. A
6. ibid. p. 204 fig. J.
7. Godard, Andre—'*The Art of Iran*' (Michael Heron) (London, 1965) p. 127, fig. 136.
8. ibid. p. 193; also see Plate III and fig. 121.

Winged motifs had frequently been used in the interior decoration of the dome of the Rock (Qubbat-ul Sakhra) or the Mosque of Omar where they are designated as Cherubim.[9] They resemble the Assyrian and Sassanian griffins. Specimens have also been recovered from Mshatta,[10] the famous Umayyid palace of the reign of Walid II (743-44 A.D.).

The depiction of composite and fabulous animals in India, however, belongs to a remoter past. Such animals have been found on some seals in the Indus Valley art (about 3200 B.C. to 2800 B.C.) prior to their dated depiction in Assyria. They generally represent the combination of a bull, human face, trunk and tusks of an elephant, hinder legs of tiger and others.[11] The art-forms might have been derived from a common heritage of a culture which had its one end in the West Asia and the other in India in a hoary past. Eearliest references of such fabulous creatures are met with in the Rigveda (VII. 104-22) where the mythical forms are called Yātu and six illustrative names are given e.g. ulūka-yātu, suparṇa-yātu etc.[13] The Puranas also mention them. References of winged lion, winged bison, two-headed eagle etc. abound in literary works e.g. in Ramayana of Balmiki (Kishkindha, 42. 16). Special terms were coined to signify them e.g. mṛiga-rūpa, (animal-faced), aṇḍaja-rūpa (bird-faced), ihāmrga (fabulous),

9. Creswell, K.A.C.—'*Early Muslim Architecture*' Vol. I (Oxford 1932) p. 198.

10. Godard,loc. cit. p. 219 ftn. 1.

11. Agarwala, V.S.—'*Indian Art*' (Varanasi 1965) p. 37.

12. ibid, p. 72.

13. There does not seem to be any doubt as to the substantial Indian contribution to a great number of art motifs. Dr. Agarwala elaborates the same phenomenon in his monumental work 'Indian Art' (op. cit. p. 74) "The stock of decorative motifs and thematic representations in early Indian art is so exceptionally rich, well defined and widely distributed that one is obliged to believe a preceding ancient tradition cultivated for many centuries in wood, clay, ivory, semi-precious stones, glass, textiles and metal. We have already cited some literary references in proof of their existence in the long expanse of time covered by the civilisation of the Janapada age. What we come across in the Maurya, Sunga and Satavahana periods was a normal evolution of earlier art forms and not an avalanche of borrowing that visited suddenly. It is therefore essential for understanding the inspiration and meaning of Indian art forms to go deeper into their literary traditions from the Vedic to the Puranic period and also to correlate them with continued survivals in folk art and other formal arts upto our own times."

vikaṭa-rūpa (mythical, chimerical and grotesque forms) etc. As it appears, the art forms had been shared commonly by the Indians and the Sumerians, Hittites, Assyrians, Cretans, Phoenicians and Scythians.

Besides this common heritage, the Indians invented a wide variety of fabulous animals of their own brand as simha-vyāla, gaja-vyāla, aṣva-vyāla, etc.[14] They were so popularly used for architectural temple decoration that ṣilpa-ṣāstras carefully took up the subject and made up a scientific classification. The number of such animals came to be established at sixteen,[15] each represented in sixteen poses thus giving an aggregate of 256 forms. These different forms were called Ihā-mrga or fabulous animals. Vyāla-decoration occupied the places which had been allotted to it by the architectural canons, e.g. on pedestal and on the entablature. Mānasāra enumerated for the former—"The padma should be ornamented with the petals of the lotus, the square, fillets with forms of gems, blossoms foliages etc. and the kantha with figures of vyālas, simhas; or of leaves flowers and the like."[16] Further, the same South Indian Vāstu-text prescribed in the third type of pillars that the entablature should measure onefourth of the size of column. This entablature would be divided into 21 parts, 8 given to the architrave 7 to the cornice and the remaining 6 would be reserved for the vyālam—the decoration with vyāla or fabulous figures.[17]

Vyala figures had been used for auspicious ornamentation at Bharhut, Bodh-gaya, Sanchi, Mathura and Amaravati (Plates-V, VI and VII). The unbroken link marked the development of the outlines and the simplification of the symbolism. Dr. Agarwala rightly observed, "Other mythical land and water animals rendered in beautiful friezes are shown on the copings and provide a handsome introduction to the subjects in the art of Sanchi and Mathura. It is clear that the carvers at Bodhgaya elaborated their legacy from Bharhut and passed it on to their successors at Sanchi and Mathura in a more elaborate form. They show their originality in evolving new subjects specially the winged figures and in developing a style which is more direct simple and

14. Aparajitaprachchha, 233, 4-6 (iti ṣodaṣ vyālani uktāni mukhabhedatah (इति षोड़श व्यालानि उक्तानि मुख भेदत:) Cf. Agarwala loc. cit. p. 72.

15. Ram Raz-*'Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus'* (London, 1834) p. 27.

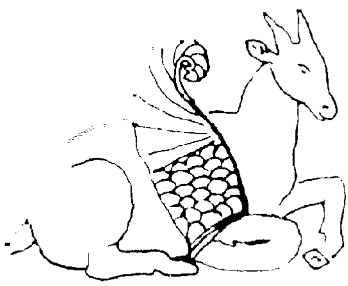
16. ibid. p. 33.

17. Cf. 'Indian Art'op. cit. p. 174.



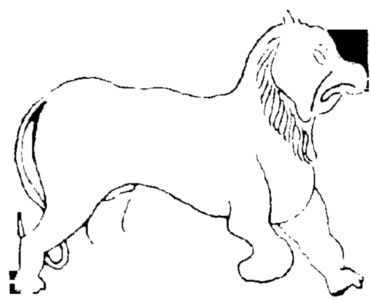
BALAHAKA ASVA (BODHGAYA)

(Plate No. V)



SAPAKSHA-MRAGA (SANCHI)

(Plate No. VI)



GRIFFIN (AMARAVATI)

(Plate No. VII)

unified, avoiding as far as possible complex or synoptic treatment as found at Sanchi."

While the duck-panels of the Delhi-gate of Agra Fort seem to have been directly inspired by the Sassanian art traditions of ancient Persia, the gaj-vyala panels derived their inspiration from Indian art conceptions. Assyrian griffon and other vyalas are mostly bird-headed; here the head of an elephant has been attached to the composite animal which is unmistakably an Indian feature and which has led us to the

nomenclature-gaj-vyāla. Of course the inter-mediary links are missing, the absence of which may create doubt as to such remote origins of these extraodinary art motifs depicted on the magnificent gateway of the Imperial Castle of Agra between 1565 and 1569. But, it can safely be surmised, that innumerous monuments which could have served as prototypes had dwindled during these last four hundred years, the destruction being heaped upon them more by man than by nature. Art-motifs never appear like meteors; they appear in the long process of evolution not as isolated miracles; art inspirations have unexceptionally a back-ground which could almost with certainty be traced in the past as far as the spade of the archaeologist and the penetrative vision of the scholar can help. All genuine arts develop and spread, they do not originate as mushroom growth.

The gaj-vyāla panels are solitary examples of the depiction of composite and fabulous animals in the Mughal architecture; they are the only specimens of their type in the medieval Muhammedan architecture of India. That they have been depicted on the first great monument of Akbar and their use thereafter completely discontinued goes to indicate that Akbar at that early stage was led away by the superstition and the symbolism represented by these animals. They were no doubt considered to be auspicious to ward off the evil spirits. Elephant, horse and lion are representative of royalty and Imperial dignity. The bird signifies the divinity, the promised divine help to the Empire; it represents 'the divine right of the Emperor'. The complete surrender of six or seven elephants against the 'gaj-vyala' repersents the unlimited strength and the inexhaustible capacity of the Empire to subdue its enemies. As it seems, later enlightenment which dawned upon the inquisitive Emperor did not permit him to let such symbolic portrayal to continue. Natural animate forms were liberally patronised in later monuments of Akbar and in some of Jehangir. The Delhi-Gate of Agra Fort from this point of view stands unique and occupies an important position in the history of architectural decoration in India.

Dr. R. Nath

THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES UNDER THE MUGHALS

The Mughals had organised an elaborate and efficient system of intelligence and espionage. The chief agencies through which the news were transmitted from the provinces to the central government consisted of : (1) the waqai-nawis, (2) the swanih-nigar, (3) the harkarah and, (4) the spies known as jasus or munhiyan.

The intelligence department had worked well under the Sultans of Delhi. Sher Shah developed the system and employed secret agents to inform him of the happenings in and around his dominions.

Akbar reorganised the intelligence department to function effectively.[1] He introduced the institution of waqainawis. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Akbar appointed fourteen waqai-nawis, two of whom would work daily in rotation, to record in their diaries whatever the Emperor said or did and whatever was brought to his notice by the heads of the departments. They also recorded the daily routine of the Emperor, appointments to mansabs, inspection of contingents of troops, grants of rent-free lands, holding of general and private assemblies, the increase and decrease of taxes, contracts, sales, money transfers, peshkash, the arrival and departure of courtiers, details of battles. victories and peace, the harvests of the year and the like.[2] Jahangir in his Memoirs affirms that the intelligence department worked efficiently under Akbar and the reports of even ordinary events reached the Emperor in time.[3]

On his part Jahangir introduced the practice of appointing news-writers to each province and conferring the post of the waqai-nawis on the bakhshi of the suba.[4] He also gave orders to read out the reports of the newswriters from the subas openly in the court with a view to making a display of his greatness before the expected Persian ambassador.[5] It

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Persian Text), p. 181.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Persian Text), Vol I, pp. 237-38.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 121.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 145, 147, 171.
5. *Baharistani-Ghaibi*, (Paris Ms.) f. 101a as quoted in the *Mughal Administration* by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 62.

seems that the intelligence department worked efficiently under Jahangir. The Mamoirs of Jahangir and the narrative of Hawkins pay glowing tribute to the effective functioning of the department in the period.[1]

It was perhaps in the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign that a new body of officials known as swanih-nigars was created.[2] They were secret reporters who did not disclose their identity and despatched the news directly to the Emperor.[3] During the reign of Aurangzeb waqai-nawis, swanih-nigars and harkaras, collectively called akhbar-nawis, and spies were employed to apprise the central government of the state of public affairs, the conduct of government officials, social and economic conditions and the details of the working of the complex administrative machinery.[4]

Of the various sets of news-reporters, the waqai-nawis seem to be more numerous. As a general rule, the offices of the provincial bakhshi and the waqai-nawis were combined.[5] Sometimes other pluralities were also conferred on the same incumbent. For instance, one Momin Khan was appointed bakhshi, waqai-nigar of the army and the mutasaddi of the port of Cambay in Gujrat.[6] In some parganas and chaklas the waqai-nawis was also given charge of the daroghaship of the Treasury.[7]

The waqai-nawis were appointed to the subas,[8] chaklas, sarkars,[9] parganas,[10] ports,[11] armies, forts,[12] courts of princes,[13] mansions of

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 120-21, 142-43; Hawkins' Voyages, pp. 400-401.
2. *Mirat* I, p. 204; *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, Letter 12, p. 6.
3. *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 175, *Alamgirnama*, p. 1081.
4. *Waqai-Ajmer* I, pp. 13, 17, 22, 35, 55, 178, 181, 183, 185, II, 509, 513.
5. *Mirat*, I, pp. 212, 220, 222, 230, 232, 315; *Mirat* II, p. 114; *Waqai - Ajmer*, II, p. 513; *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 88, 140-41.
6. *Mirat*, II, p. 118.
7. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 88-89.
8. *Mirat*, I, p. 212; *Maᶜasiri-Alamgiri*, pp. 64-65, 69.
9. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 87-88; 140-41; *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 63-80.
10. *Sivaqnama*, Munshi Nand Ram, pp. 91-92.
11. *Maᶜasiri-Alamgiri*, pp. 33-34; *Mirat*, I, 226, 234.
12. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, p. 178; *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 59-60.
13. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, Letter 45, p. 17.

nobles and important officers[1] and the kachery of the diwan[2]. The waqai-nawis and the khufia-nawis also accompanied the ambassadors accredited by the Mughal emperors to foreign lands[3].

The appointment of the waqai-nawis was made by the order of the emperor through a royal sanad which sometimes bore the signature of the wazir[4]. He was given a mansab. The rank of a bakhshi and waqai-nawis was 500 zat and 50 sawar[5]. Transfers of the waqai-nawis were frequently made[6].

The waqai-nawis had the services of a number of assistants and clerks at his disposal. They assisted him in the discharge of his duties in the parganas, the kacheri of the nazim, diwan, faujdar. the court of judicature and the office of the kotwal by writing daily reports which were submitted to him[7]. He made a summary of their reports and transmitted them to the Emperor through the superintendent of the posts of the suba.[8] The assistants of the waqai-nawis were paid fourteen and a half rupees as their salary per mensem.[9] The waqai-nawis sent weekly reports to the Emperor.[10] Since the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign the waqai were recorded according to the lunar calendar.[11]

Great importance was attached to the reports submitted by the waqai-nawis and the swanih-nigars. Shah Jahan used to go through them in the Diwani-Khas. The bakhshi made selections of them

1. Manucci II, p. 421.
2. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, p. 87.
3. A waqai-nawis and a khufia-nawis were sent to Persia with the embassy of Tarbiyat Khan in November, 1663. "With the embassy went the usual officials, a waqai-nawis and a khufia-nawis, who are the public reporter and the secret reporter." Manucci II, pp. 128, 130.
4. *Mirat* (Supp.) p. 173, *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, p. 140.
5. *Siyaqnama*, pp. 91-92; *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 174.
6. *Siyaqnama*, pp. 91-92; *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 88-89; *Mirat*, I, p. 212.
7. *Mirat* (Supp.), 174-75; *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 94-95.
8. *Mira'at* (Supp.), pp. 174-75.
9. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 94-95.
10. *Hidayatul-Qawaid* (Ms.), Hidayat Ullah Bihari, f.23. Manucci II, pp. 331-32, *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 140-41.
11. *Mirat*, I, p. 204.

and obtained imperial orders thereupon in the forenoon.[1] Aurangzeb intently listened to the reports[2] of the waqai-nawis and the swanih-nigars which were read out at night by women in the palace.

The waqai-nawis was enjoined to make thorough investigation into the affairs that he reported.[3] Truth, honesty, justice and good conscience must guide him in the execution of his work.[4] He should state facts with great precision and attention to details.[5] His work was delicate in the sense that by resorting to truth and honesty in his reports he earned the odium of the people of the place of his posting. So he was advised first of all to adopt persuasive methods and warn the culprits and defaulters against their persistence in the commission of the orimes and prohibited things, then report the matter to the kotwal and in the last resort to incorporate the matter in the waqai.[6]

The scope of the work of the waqai-nawis was quite extensive. He had to cover a variety of subjects. According to Bernier he was a person whose business it was to communicate every event that occurred in the place of his posting.[7]

The waqai-nawis was directed to supply information in respect of the revenue and financial matters like the state of agriculture, the assessment, realisation and arrears of revenue,[8] presentation of gifts and peshkash,[9] accounts of the daily collection of money at the cashier's office,[10] remittances of money to the imperial treasury,[11] taxes and prohibited cesses[12] accounts of income and expenditure, schedules of market rates of gold, silver and other commodities and the exchange rates of coins

1. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 6.
2. *Manucci* II, pp. 331-32.
3. *Hidaytul-Qawaid* (Ms.), f.23.
4. *Siyaqnama*, pp. 91-92.
5. Ibid.
6. *Hidayatul-Qawaid*, f. 22.
7. Bernier, p. 231.
8. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 87-89
9. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 6, 12, 15-16, 17.
10. *Siyaqnama*, pp. 91-92.
11. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 10, 64, 65, 69, 70.
12. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 87-89; *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, p.45.

current in the Deccan.[1] The waqai contain the details of the proceedings of the courts in civil, criminal and revenue cases,[2] execution of the deeds of contract, surety and indemnity bonds,[3] assignments of jagirs to the mansabdars, their promotions, demotions, transfers, dismissals and reinstatements,[4] despatch of confidential letters,[5] a correct estimate of the horses and the arms,[6] purchases of elephants and their description,[7] growth of trade and industry.[8] The waqai preserve the descriptive accounts of the embassies,[9] the piracy of the Dutch and the Danes,[10] battle scenes, wars and victories,[11] the eclipses, earthquakes, the falling of meteors,[12] and such other things of diversified nature.

That the waqai-nawis was not merely a news-reporter but aslo an official exercising some measure of administrative control and initiative is borne out by the fact that he was enjoined to promote agriculture and trade and to enforce the prohibition of illegal cesses.[13]

The institution of the waqai-nawis seems to have served the purpose of transmitting news to the Emperor admirably in a number of cases.[14] On the eve of the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan, the suspension of communications and the despatch of the reports of the waqai-nawis to Bengal, Ahmadabad and the Deccan by Dara Shukoh was largely responsible to the rumours that gained currency in regard to Shah Jahan's failing health and aroused suspicion

1. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 32-45, 63-64, 75-77.
2. *Waqai-Ajmer* I, pp. 4, 18-19, 21-22, 23-24, 25, 29, 35, 37, 38, 59-60, 67-68, 172, 185; *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 32-45, 63-64, 75-77.
3. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, p. 11.
4. Ibid, pp. 47-49.
5. Ibid, p. 5.
6. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, p. 88.
7. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 9, 59.
8. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, p. 45; *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 88-89.
9. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, pp. 7, 12.
10. Ibid, pp. 5-6.
11. *Maasiri-Alamgiri*, pp. 63-65; Khafi Khan II, p. 4; *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 25.
12. *Maasir--i-Alamgiri*, pp. 73-74; 80, 89.
13. *Nigarnamai-Munshi*, pp. 88-89.
14. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 20.

and apprehensions in the minds of the other princes[1]. But cases of misrepresentation of facts and making of false reports on the part of the waqai-nawis and his entering into collusion with the subahdar, are not lacking[2]. Aurangzeb complains of the inefficiency of the waqai-nawis on numerous occasions[3]. Yet the presence of the waqai-nawis served as a check on the mal-practices, corruption, bribery and misconduct on the part of government officials.

The institution of swanih-nigar seems to have been introduced in Shahjahan's reign[4]. It was to counteract the baneful effect of the false and fictitious reports of the waqai-nawis who sometimes ignored, minimised or exaggerated facts that a new set of officials, known as swanih-nigars, was appointed. The swanihnigar was a secret agent who did not disclose his identity and reported confidentially to the Emperor[5]. Jadunath Sarkar makes a distinction between the swanih-nigar and the khufia-nawis[6] but a passage in the *Mirati-Ahmadi* clearly states that both the terms are identical.[7]

The swanih-nigars were appointed for the subas,[8] the sarkars,[9] parganas,[10] the mahals of the jagirs of the princes,[11] and the ports,[12] and were attached to the field armies[13] and the retinue of the nobles.[14] They were appointed through the instrumentality of the imperial daroghai-

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1. Khafi Khan II, p. 4.
2. Bernier's *Travels*, p. 431; *Inshai-Roshan Kalam* (Ms.) ff. 14-15. Fryer attributes Aurangzeb's failure in the Deccan due to the false-reports of the waqai-nawis and their collusion with the generals. Fryer as quoted in the notes to Bernier's Travels, p. 231; *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 175.
3. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 29.
4. *Mirat* I, p. 204; *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 6.
5. *Alamgirnama*, p. 1081; *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 175.
6. *Mughal Administation*, p. 61.
7. *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 175.
8. *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 175; *Mirat* I, pp. 235, 352; II, p. 145.
9. *Alamgirnama*, p. 1081.
10. *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 175
11. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 14.
12. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 46.
13. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, pp. 45-46.
14. *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 50.

dak.[1]

The swanih-nigar recorded information of all kinds of occurrences of a general or special nature in the Roznamchas, based on his personal observations and hearsay and sent them to the Emperor twice a week.[2] He kept the Emperor well-informed about the general behaviour of the subahdar and other functionaries of the province and the Emperor rewarded or punished them accordingly.[3] He reported the misdeeds, misconduct and negligence in the discharge of the duties on the part of the nobles to the emperor.[4] The swanih-nigars were kept in the mansions of the nobles for this purpose.[5] They appointed their agents in the parganas, the court of the nazim and other places. Subsequently the swanih-nigar was also entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements within the province and then his appointment was made public.[6] This new arrangement must have grossly impaired the important work of reporting news confidentially that he performed previously.

In some cases the swanih-nigars were also found to be corrupt and inefficient.[7]

Another agency by which news were communicated, consisted of the harkaras, literally meaning couriers of news. They were appointed throughout the empire from the office of the chief superintendent of the harkaras (Daroghai-Harkarahai-Kul).[8] They served as messengers of confidential messages, both verbal and written.[9] They acquired information and reported it to the nazim. The harkara also prepared a list of papers and sent it with the mail bag to the Emperor. His agents were stationed at the court of the nazim and with other officers.[10] The harkara was asked to submit his written reports normally once in a

1. *Mirat* (Supp.), p. 175.
2. *Alamgir nama*, p. 1081; *Hidayatul-Qawaid*, f. 23.
3. *Alamgir nama*, p. 1081; *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, p. 14.
4. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 50-51, 45-46.
5. Manucci II, p. 421.
6. *Mir'at* (Supp.) p. 175.
7. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, pp 45-46, 51.
8. *Mir'at* (Supp.), p. 177.
9. *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, p. 5.
10. *Mir'at* (Supp.), p. 177.

week. Great reliance was placed on the reports of the harkara. He was considered the most trustworthy of all the news-reporters and even men of great eminence were liable to be punished on the faith of the reports submitted by him.[1]

The reports made by all these three groups of officials, the waqai-nawis, the swanih-nigar and the harkara were sent to the daroghai-dak chouki who submitted them to the wazir for presentation to the Emperor.

Besides these intelligence officials, collectively called Akhbar-nawis, which were employed for transmitting news of all sorts of occurrences within the country, spies, scouts and patrol parties were engaged for military purposes.[2] They were known as jasus and munhiyan though these terms were sometimes used to denote all sorts of intelligence officials who reported confidentially. The military espionage worked vigorously and successfully under Aurangzeb. They roamed about the enemy camp and territory in disguise and brought valuable information as to the military strength, movements, designs and strategy of the enemy.[3]

The foregoing description amply illustrates the position, functions and the distinctive character of various sets of intelligence officials. It also tends t suggest the inference that the waqai-nawis, though primarily a news-reporter, was clothed with some restricted authority in dealing with revenue and financial affairs and that while trying to enforce the imperial regulations in regard to such matters he was not going beyond the ambit of administrative discretion.

The waqai throw revealing light on the economic conditions and the actual functioning of the administrative organisation and the relative position of various government officials. They amply demonstrate wide divergence between the theoretical expositions of the chroniclers and the experimental side of the Mughal institutions.

Muhammad Zameeruddin Siddiqi

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1. *Hidayatul-Qawaid*, f. 23b; *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, p. 15.
2. Khafi Khan II, p. 342; *Ruqqati-Alamgiri*, pp. 43, 55; Manucci II, pp. 18-19, *Selected Waqai of the Deccan*, p. 79.
3. Ibid,

THE FAMILY OF SHAIKH SALIM CHISHTI DURING THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR

The rise of the family of Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur dates back to the period of Emperor Akbar. But the family obtained large *mansabs* only during the reign of Jahangir.

An attempt has been made in this paper to present material relevant to the circumstances leading to the emergence of this family, its influence, if any, in Mughal politics, and later on its decline.

It seems necessary to identify the members of the family, before going into other details. No attempt has been made so far to reconstruct a chart for Shaikh Salim's family. But in the contemporary sources, notably *Akbarnama*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri* and a great collection of biographical notices of nobles and officials, the *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* of Shaikh Farid Bhakkari (1650 A.D.) a large number of persons related to Shaikh Salim Chishti are introduced. On the basis of this evidence a genealogical chart has been prepared. In the chart all the members of Shaikh Salim's family living in Jahangir's reign that are noticed in our sources are included.

In the genealogical chart serial numbers are allotted for the convenience of references. A chronological table is also prepared which shows *mansabs*, promotions, and appointments held in the family. The same serial order is allotted here as in the chart.

A brief history of the family will help us in understanding the nature of the rise of the family. Shaikh Salim was the son of Shaikh Bahauddin and a descendant of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar[1]. The family originally belonged to Delhi where Shaikh Salim was born in 1479 A.D. He visited various Muslim countries twice and was known as *Shaikh-ul-Hind*. After returning to India he settled at Sikri about 30 Kms from Agra. He was considered a famous Sufi saint of his time. Here he, attracted Akbar's attention. As is well known Akbar sent his expecting wives so as to give birth to son under the protection

1. *Akbar-Nama*, Vol. II, 343-44, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II. 12, *Akhbar-ul-Akhvar*, 276-77; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 554.

of the Shaikh. The first son so born was Salim, the later Jahangir. The Shaikh died in 1570. But as Akbar had great regard for the Shaikhs' family, the sons, grandsons and sons-in-law were given offices by him. As the Shaikh's own daughter served as foster mother to Prince Salim, her son Qutubuddin Khan was recognised as his foster brother.

Shaikh Ahmad,[1] a son of Shaikh Salim, is the first person known to have been appointed in Mughal service during the reign of Akbar. He held the *mansab* of 500 and served at the capital with his cousin Shaikh Ibrahim, son of Shaikh Musa, a brother of Shaikh Salim. Shaikh Ahmad died in 1577. Shaikh Ibrahim continued to serve and in 1577 he held the charge of Fatehpur. After that he was despatched to Bengal and Bihar to serve under Aziz Koka. In 1586, he held the charge of Agra and died in 1590.[2] Precisely this was the beginning of the political career of the family.

In the closing years of the reign of Akbar, Shaikh Bayazid, a grandson of Shaikh Salim was granted a *mansab* of 2000. Prince Salim being a foster brother patronised Qutubuddin Khan Koka and Shujaat Khan. Both of them were his close associates at Allahabad. This shows when Akbar died the family had already entered actively in Mughal politics.

The later developments in the picture of this family may be viewed in the context of the political crisis that ensued following the illness and death of Akbar. One section of the old nobility led by Aziz Koka and Man Singh, planned to enthrone Khusrau. eldest son of Prince Salim.[3] Although the plan failed, but it created a great dislike for the older nobles. The result of this mistrust towards this section of nobles forced him to encourage a new group of nobles supposed to be completely faithful to him. As a result those persons, many of whom were personal servants of Prince Salim were given rapid promotions, so that they might overshadow the old nobility. To this new group of nobles the family of Shaikh Salim belongs. In 1605, the family held in total *mansab* of only 6000 zat. But from the second year (1606) there is

1. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 554-55.
2. *Ibid*, 570-72, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, 439, describes him as son-in-law of Salim Chishti.

   Akbar Nama, 220-236, 595; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, 374.
3. *Risala-i-Tarikh-Asad Beg Qazvini*, British-Museum Rieu III 999, fol. 51-52; *Khafi Khan* Vol. I, 233-34.

a marked increase in their *mansabs.* Qutubuddin Khan Koka, an old associate of Jahangir was granted *mansab* of 5000/5000 and governorship of Bengal and Orissa.[1] His son Kishwar Khan was granted *mansab* of 1000/300[2] and Shujaat Khan 1500/700. Moazzam Khan was appointed governor of the province of Delhi.[3] The proportion of the rise in the *mansab* was remarkable as we find in 1608 the total *mansabs* held in the family came to 13200/7500. Later on the promotions were so frequent that by 1612 the figure reached 14200/12450. This period represented the climax of their rise because after that we see a sharp decline in their position. In 1612 *mansabs* in the family further declined and the figure came down to 12500/8200 which again came down to 9000/6500 in 1620. Not only this, in 1622 we find that it was only 5000/3500.

Two questions thus arise :—

Firstly, there is a complaint of Aziz Koka against the Emperor which he lodged to him in the year 1612. Aziz Koka raised two charges against the Emperor.[4]

(1) Emperor's negative attitude towards the old nobility and undue favour towards a new group of nobles.

(2) Favouring the Khurasanis and Shaikhzadas at the expense of Chaghtais and Rajputs.

Secondly, the circumstances of the decline of Shaikh Salim's family.

The family of Shaikh Salim itself seems to lend substance to Aziz Koka's charge. Initially starting from 6000 *zat* this Shaikhzada family was raised to 14200/12450 in 1612 A.D.

The decline in the fortunes of the family is rather difficult to explain, although it is possible that it went into the shade partly as a result of the increasing prominence of Nurjahan's family, with which owing to the fatal incident between Qutubuddin Khan and Sher Afgan

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1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*-31; *Maasirul Umara,* III, 66-68. *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri,* 4.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* 93.
3. *Ibid,* 37.
4. *Maktubat-i-Khan-i-Jahan Muzaffar Khan-wa-Gwalior Nama,* British Museum Add. 16, 659 fol. 18a-18b.

its relations were unlikely to have been friendly. The rapid rise of Nurjahan's family began as is well known with her marriage in 1611. This is graphically illustrated by the increase in *mansabs* held by its members :—

Total mansabs in the empire.		*Nurjahan's family.*
1605	2,08,000 zat	4,000 zat
1621	3,99,200 zat/2,52,700 sawar.	30,500/25,300[1].

In this way the power and prestige enjoyed by the family of Shaikh Salim in the early years of Jahangir's reign was gradually over-shadowed by Nurjahan's family. After 1621 we get only two names of Shaikh Salim's family i.e. Ikram Khan who was despatched with Prince Parvez to pursue Prince Khurram, and Mukarram Khan who was appointed as governor of Bengal in 1625. With the accession of Shah Jahan, the Shaikh's family virtually lost its sway and became insignificant to play any important role in the body politics of the period. The total *mansabs* held by the family henceforth never exceeded to 6000/3400.[2]

APPENDICES

Genealogical Chart A

Chronological Table B

References to Chart A B

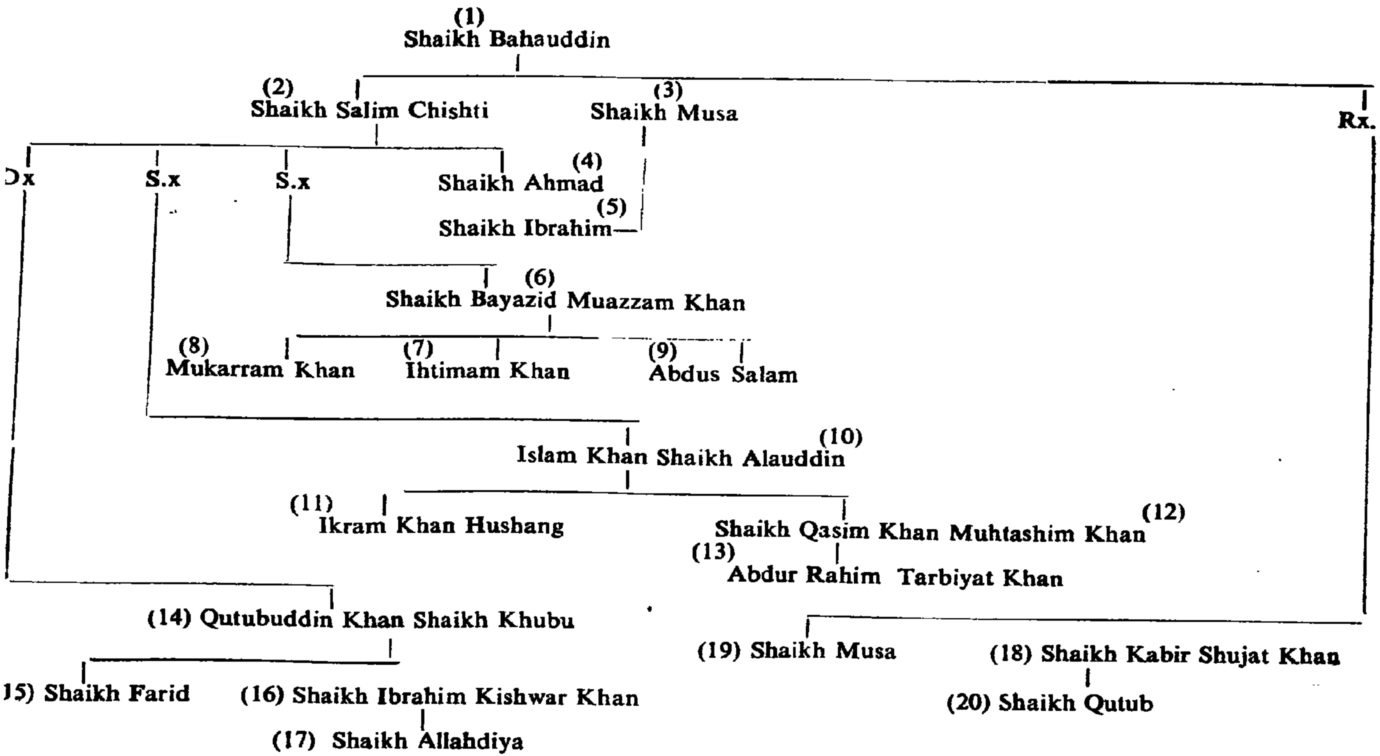
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1. Figures taken from Dr. Irfan Habib's paper "*The family of Nurjahan during Jahangir's reign, a political study, Medieval India-a-Miscellany*, Vol. I, Aligarh.

2. The under noted persons held *mansabs* in Shah Jahan's reign :—

(i)	Shaikh Farid son of Qutubuddin.	2500/1500	Lahori	Vol. 1, 229
(ii)	Ikram Khan	2000/1000	Ibid	Vol. I, 229
(iii)	Shaikh Allah Diya	1000/700	Ibid	Vol. I, 302
(iv)	Shaikh Qutub.	500/200	Ibid	Vol. I, 329
		6000/3400		

GENEALOGICAL CHART 'A'



REFERENCES TO CHARTS 'A' & 'B'

1. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 554.
2. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 343-44 Badauni, Vol. II, 127-28 *Akhbarul-Akhiyar*, 276-77
3. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 370
4. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 554-56
5. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 370-72
6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 32, 37, 82; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin* fol. 94a-b: *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, 365-66.
7. *Tuzuk*, 102, 60, 68.
8. *Tuzuk*, 214-15, 252, 327, 333, 337, 359, 375; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, 365-66; *Iqbalnama*, 286. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, fol. 94b.
9. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, fol. 79, *Tuzuk*, 104.
10. *Tuzuk*, 13, 68, 75-76, 101-2, 104, 125-26; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, fol 79a-80a *Iqbalnama*, 24, 38, 64, 72, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 1.
11. *Tuzuk*, 115, 139, 145, 215, 260, 266, 278, 360; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawaniu*, fol. 94b, *Iqbalnama*, 69, 204;
12. *Tuzuk*, 70, 72, 85, 95, 136, 185, 150. *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, fol. 90a *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, 335.
13. *Tuzuk*, 55, 81, 85, 269. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, 483-84.
14. *Tuzuk*, 37, 54, *Iqbalnama* 4, 24; *Maasir-ul-Umara* III, 66-68.
15. *Badshahnama*, Vol. 1, 184, 258, 299.
16. *Tuzuk*, 36, 68, 79, 82, 95, 136; *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, fol. 76a *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 630-33.
17. *Badshahnama*, Vol. I, 307.
18. *Tuzuk*, 54, 78, 93, 104, 110-11, *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, fol. 78b-84 *Ibbalnama*, 64; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, 630-33;
19. *Tuzuk*, 152.
20. *Badshahnama*, Vol. I, 325.

Date	(6) Muazzam Khan	(12) Qasim Khan	(8) Mukarram Khan	(11) Ikram Khan	(13) Tarbiyat Khan
1605	3000	—	—	—	—
1606	Governor of Delhi	—	—	—	—
1607	4000/2000				700/200 Pay master of Ahadis
1608	,,	1000/500			700/400
1610	,,	1500/1000 Despatched to Bengal			Faujdar Sarkar of Alwar
1611	—	1500/1250			,,
1612	—	,,	—	—	,,
1613	—	,,	In Bengal	1000/500	2000/850
1614	—	Governor of Bengal	,,	,,	,,
1615	—	4000/4000	,,	1500/700	,,
1616	—	,,	,,	—	3500/1500
1617	—	Removed from Bengal	Govenor of Orissa 3000/2000	Faujdar of Fatehpur	,,
1618	—	—	,,	1500/800	,,
1619	—	—	,,	2000/1500 Faujdar of Sarkar Mewat	died
1620	(19) Shaikh Musa 800/400	—	—	,,	—

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE 'B'

Date	7 Ihtimam Khan	14 Qutubuddin Khan	10 Islam Khan	18 Shujat Khan	16 Kishwar Khan
1605			2,000	1,000	
1606		5000/5000 Governor of Bengal and Orissa		1500/700	1000/300
1607		Died		1500/1000	
1608	1000/300 Admiral of Bengal	—	4000/3000 Governor of Bengal	Despatched to Deccan with Khan-i-Jahan	Qiledar of Fort Rohtas
1609	,,		5000/5000	,,	,,
1610	,,		,,	,,	2000/2000 Faujdar of Uch
1611	,,	—	,,	2000/1500 Despatched to Bengal	Despatched to Bengal
1612	,,		6000/6000	3000/2500 died	died
1613			died	—	—

1621	—	Govenor of Allahabad 5000/5000	Governor of Delhi and Faujdar of Mewat	,, ,,	— —
1622	—	died	Despatched towards Deccan with Khan-i-Jahan	—	—
1623	—	—	,,	Despatched with Parvez to pursue Khurram	—
1624	—	—	,,	,,	—
1625	—	—	Governor of Orissa (died)	—	—

Afzal Husain

NEW LIGHT ON MUGHAL CAVALRY

This study is based mainly on about 2500 Arz-o-Chehra documents belonging to the reign of Shah Jahan, now preserved in the Andhra Pradesh Archives at Hyderabad. The serial is by no means complete and the documents pertain to the contingents of the nobles of different categories. Consequently, this study may be considered as being based upon random sampling.

An Arz-o-Chehra document contained the descriptive features of a trooper and those of his horse. When a trooper was recruited a chihra of himself and of his horse was first drawn up by the Chihra-Nawis who handed it over to Mutasaddi of the court and the latter forwarded it to the Imperial Court for sanction. It was prepared in connection with the muster of troopers and branding of horses. In the descriptive roll of a soldier, the following details were entered: name, father's name, tribe or caste, place of origin, his complexion, features, any identification mark, stature and age. In the descriptive roll of horses the following particulars were noted: breed, colour, marks on its body etc. They did not contain the place of verification. Had it been there, the value of these documents might have been enhanced.

The contents of these documents throw light on many new aspects of Mughal cavalry. Certain instances have been found where a number of members of the family of a trooper served under a single noble or officer at the same time. Some of these nobles have been cited in the Tables "A", "B" and "C".

All these cases point to the fact that the army organisation rested on something like Khana-zad system at that time. Family as a unit of the contingent of any noble emerges out as a significant factor. The family affiliations had got their place in the army organisation. All the members of any family tried to serve under the same noble. Taking the family as a unit one can say that the army organisation was based mainly on such a system of units. The contingent of a noble comprised of many such units with family affiliations inherent in them.

A study of the dates on which the troopers were verified and their horses branded leads us to conclude that the regulations in this regard were not practised. According to the Dustur-ul-Amal in this regard, "The interval after which verification was imperative varied according

to the nature of the man's pay. If he were paid in jagir he had to muster his men for verification once a year, and, in addition a period of six months' grace was allowed. If the officer was paid in naqd (cash) the time allowed depended upon whether he was (1) present at court (hazir-i-rikab) or (2) on duty elsewhere (t'anat).

In the first case he had to procure his certificate at six months' intervals or at the most within eight months. In the second case he was allowed fifteen days after he had reported himself at court. An Ahadi seems to have been allowed, in a similar case no more than seven days. Where an officer drew his pay partly in jagir and partly in naqd, if the former made more than half the total pay, the rule for jagirdars was followed; if the jagir were less than half, the naqdi rule was followed.[1]

The data given in Table "D" shows that the troopers could get verified after any period of time. We find that most of the troopers came only after the expiry of the stipulated period for verification or after very long intervals, say, of an interval of 3 to 5 years. In one case it lengthened even to 10 years and 8 months. It shows the slackness in army administration at that time. Even in the case of Mansabdaran-i-Khassa, the same slackness is visible. The Table "E" bears it out.

The regulations for the maintenance of different racial proportions among the troopers serving under any noble were also not being adhered to. The rules as mentioned by Khushhal Chand read as follows :—

"A noble from Mawara-un-Nehr recruited none but Mughals; if from Iran, he might have one third Mughals and the remainder Syeds and Sheikhs or if he took Afghans and Rajputs, of the former he might entertain one sixth and of the latter one seventh of his total number. Nobles who were Syeds or Sheikhs might enlist their own tribe, or up to one-sixth they might take Afghans. Afghans themselves might have one half Afghans and the other half Mughals and Sheikhzadas. Rajputs made up their whole force of Rajputs[2]".

The sample study shows that all the troopers did not belong to the race of the nobles himself. The troopers serving under a noble did not

1. The Army of the Indian Moghuls, Irvine p. 54; Dastur-ul-Amal, Br. M.No. 1641 (C 1118 H.)

2. The Army of the Indian Moghuls - Irvine p.36; Nadir-uz-Zamani by Khushhal Chand, Berlin MS 495 fol. 1072b.

belong only to one race either but to various races. There appears to be no specific proportion existing between the noble and his troopers on racial basis. In fact, this defiance of rules and regulations continued in the time of Aurangzeb also. We find Tahauwwur Khan, governor of Ajmer in 1680-81, taking special pride in the fact that he only employed Turanis[3]. Aghar Khan's contingent also consisted of only Afghans and Rajputs[4].

The attitude to recruit the troopers belonging to one's race also does not appear to have existed. In that case, the percentage of the troopers belonging to the racial group of their masters should always have been higher than the percentage of the troopers belonging to other races. But the study does not point towards anything like that. Only in the case of South Indian troopers, whether they are Maratha, Habashi or Dakhni, we find a tendency to recruit themselves only under the nobles of the south Indian domicile. The Table "F" shows that they did not enroll themselves under the noble of any other race.

Although it is a sample study, yet the ratio of the troopers on racial basis shows that the troopers from other lands were much less in number as compared to the indigeneous troopers. If we get the ratio of the troopers on racial basis belonging to the reigns of other Mughal Emperors, it will help us in studying the influx of the troopers of Irani and Turani origin in the Indian army at different periods of our history. Its variations will form an extremely interesting study.

The ratio of the troopers on racial basis given in Table "F" shows us that the Iranis and Turanis were only 14.46% as compared to 47.20% indigeneous troopers. One reason of this great difference between their numerical strength is quite natural i.e. they came from foreign lands. The other plausible reason which crops out as its corollary is that they seem to be paid more than the indigeneous troopers. During the reign of Akbar, the commanders were paid more for their Turani and Irani troopers as compared to their Hindustani counterparts[5]. In the succeeding years the salary paid to the trooper by the nobles remained a

3. Waqa-i-Sarkar-Ranthambhor-wa-Ajmer, pp. 355-56. Transcript in the Department of History, Aligarh, Nos. 25 and 26.

4. Mamuri, f. 145b; Cf. M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p. 164.

5. "Turanis and Iranis are allowed Rupees 25 (per month); Indians Rs. 20; and revenue collectors of Khalisa, Rupees 15."
Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 175.

matter of contract between them and together with it the practice started by Akbar seems to have persisted. Tahawwur Khan, the governor of Ajmer in 1680-81 claimed that he paid the Turani troopers more than what he paid to the Hindustanis[6].

A significant point about the racial instincts of the Maratha troopers that emerges from this study is that, it was not only Sivaji who traced his descent from the Rajputs but the Maratha troopers too and that also, even before the rise of Sivaji to power and glory. The Maratha troopers during our time enrolled themselves always as Rajput Dakhnis.

As regards the horses,[7] we find that the troopers remained mostly yak-aspa but at times 2-3 aspa were also found. It was the Turki horse, that was mainly provided to the troopers.[8] After Turki[9] horses, Yabu,

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6. Waqa-i-Sarkar-i-Renthambhor-wa-Ajmer, p. 355.
7. The Ain mentions seven classes of horses in their qualitative order, namely Arabs, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yabus, Tazis and Jangalah horses. Apart from them one more class of Tattus is also mentioned but seems to be insignificant. Ain-i-Akbari II Blochmann, Bib. Ind. p. 243
8. Racial classification of the troopers has been made on the sollowing lines:

(a) *Iranis & Turanis*: Seistani, Sabzwari, Mughul Isfahani, Mashhadi, Isfahani, Afshar, Hamadani, Hirati, Khwajazada, Hafi, Qalmaq, Haravi, Khurbani, Tabrezi, Hasani of Yarboh, Shirazi, Mazandarani, Khwaja Serai, Khurasani, Kurd, Ghori, Hazara, Qandhari, Turkman, Chaghia, Mughul Barlas, Qipchaq, Mawara-un-Nehri, Badakhshi, Samarqandi, Mughul Badakhshi, Uzbeg, Mughul Nishapuri, Kashghari, Wahli, Qulij, Rumi, Bukhari, Balkhi, Tashkendi, Arghun, Mughul Tuni, Turkman Zulqadr, Khalifa Turkman, Chaghta Jalair, Mughal Musavi, Kaimurdi, Hisari, Zulqadr.

(b) *Afghans*: Lodi, Lohani, Karrani, Afghan Mewati, Serwani, Niazi, Kakar, Nuhani, Miana, Yusuf Zai, Farmuli, Afghan Tarin, Afghan Khalil, Sur, Bangashi, Afghan Chokni, Aurkari, Akhurbegi, Afridi, Afghan Tabrez Khalili, Afghan Otman, Tatar Afghan, Mahmund, Afghan Qandhari, Lolokhed, Khail, Otman Khail, Auramzai, Afghan Burki, Sarkhail, Chap Zai, Afghan Nabni, Afghan Amrazi, Afghan Turki, Afghan Davi, Afghan Turbati, Rohilla, Ghalzai, Andijani, Afghan Kashi.

(c) *Indian Muslims*: Sheikhzadas, Jalair, Baluch, Qureishis, Siddiquis, Farooquis, Ansaris, Sheikhzada Husaini, Sheikhzada Bhelum, Saadaat of Barah, Saadaat Rasuldar, Saadaat Husaini, Saadaat Rizavi, Sheikhzada Somri, Khalji, Sheikhzada Chandi, Sheikhzada Chishti, Kambo, Saadaat Bhakri, Khidmatya, Sakrkot Husaini, Saadaat Bukhari, Sheikhzada Dakhni.

(d) *Rajputs*: Ahankar, Chauhan, Bais, Khokhar, Rajput Khalonah, Rajput Banwar, Parwar, Rathore, Rajput Tur, Bhadoriah, Bhatti, Kachhwaha, Behtar, Rajput Somrah, Rajput Awah, Rajput Badhar, Sisodia, Rajput Bholki, Solanki, Rajput Sur, Pawar, Banwar, Rajput Sawand, Rajput Yarwal, Surajvanshi, Rajput Jagan Nath, Badgujar, Rajput Lang, Rajput Lankah, Rajput Dehkar, Rajput Sakhawat, Rajput Bansal, Rajput Bakal,

Tazi and Jangalah breeds were provided respectively.
The Table "G" shows the strength as follows :

Turki : 54.33%
Yabu : 26.17%
Tazi : 17.65%
Jangalah : 17.79%

The Iranis, Turanis and Afghans possessed the horses of higher breed more than their Hindustani counterparts. The following table prepared with the help of Table "G" brings out this point clearly. In this table, the troopers of indistinct racial group have been excluded.

S.No.		% of total troopers	% of total Turki horses	% of total Yabu horses	% of total Tazi horses	% of total Jangalah horses
1.	Iranis, Turanis Afghans	39.07	45.0o	35.77	29.54	Nil.
2.	Hindustanis	60.93	54.94	64.23	70.46	100

Foot-note 8 Continued

(e) *Dakhnis*: Habashi, Zunnardar, Pandit, Rajput Jadaun, Pandit Zunnardar Dakhni, Rajput Chauhan Dakhni, Rajput Banwar Dakhni, Rajput Bhonsle, Rajput Tikambar, Rajput Bhonsle Dakhni, Rajput Ahir Rao Dakhni, Rajput Istri Dakhni, Pandit Dakhni, Lingayat.

(f) *Miscellaneous*: (Indistinct Racial Affiliations) Qaranzi, Kolani, Qurus, Baharlu, Kanjar. Sud, Qarnali, Khatri, Hyderkhani, Hakamni, Rakhori, Tashmehdi, Sarsat, Amaq, Balas Hisari, Kahal, Machhori, Warfa, Kheri, Nagar, Agarwal, Lodari, Autani, Muhadri, Ri, Aurjaman, Balin, Balras, Kahli, Maula, Kalri, Khusri, Tulakchi, Amiri, Aqa Kurd, Kahi, Marghazi, Kolaki, Fokhani.

Apart from these, all those troopers whose racial group or place of domicile was not mentioned in the documents, have also found place among Miscellaneous.

9. Turki horses were imported from Turan, though strong and well formed they did not come up to the preceding. The Yabu horses were bred in this country but fell short in strength and size. Their performances were also mostly bad. They were the offspring of Turki horses with an inferior breed. Tazi and Jangalah horses were Indian breeds. The better of them was Tazi.

For a description of the horses see Ain-i-Akbari, II Blochmann pp. 243–244.

The Table "G" also shows that the quality of horses decreases as we look to the south Indian troopers. With them we get Yabu and Tazi horses in an increasing number and even the Jangalah horses are found only with them.

It is curious to note that not a single horse from amongst Arab, Persian and Mujannas horses finds mention in these documents. As the horses of these three breeds were the imported ones, we can assume that their import had almost ceased during the time of Shah Jehan.

The break-up of the horses according to the racial group of the nobles will be as follows:[10]

S. No.	Racial Group	No. of horses	TURKI		YABU		TAZI		JANGALAH	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Irani and Turani	735	424	57.27	190	25.85	121	16.46	—	—
2.	Afghan	44	22	50.00	14	31.81	8	18.18	—	—
3.	Arab	113	77	68.2	18	15.9	18	15.9	—	—
4.	Indian Muslims	294	185	62.92	62	21.08	45	15.3	2	.68
5.	Maratha	439	193	43.76	118	26.75	103	23.35	25	5.66
6.	Rajput	12	7	58.3	4	33.4	1	8.3	—	—
7.	Dakhni	43	11	25.6	11	25.6	18	41.9	3	6.9
	TOTAL	1680	916	54.52	417	24.82	314	18.69	30	1.78

A rough calculation of the above Table shows that the nobles of Irani, Turani, Afghan and Arab descent possessed better horses in their contingents. The cumulative strength in respect of the nobles comes out as follows:[11]

10. In this Table I have excluded those nobles whose identity was unknown.

11. Till the end of Aurangzeb's reign, it was left to the choice of the nobles either to keep the horses in the imperial stables or under their own supervision. If they kept them in the Imperial stables, an amount for their maintenance known as Khurak-i-dawwab was deducted from their Jama.

1. *Iranis, Turanis, Afghans & Arabs ;*

(a) Turki	:	58.67%
(b) Yabu	:	24.44%
(c) Tazi	:	16.66%

2. *Indigeneous ;*

(a) Turki	:	47.64%
(b) Yabu	:	26.70%
(c) Tazi	:	22.11%
(d) Jangalah	:	3.31%

The quality of the horse did not depend on the rank of the noble. A noble of high rank might possess the horses of higher breeds in the same proportion as a noble of lower rank. The following table bearing a few examples will show this:

Foot-note 11 Continued......

If they kept them under their own supervision, the khurak-i-dawwab was left with the nobles.

The Ain gives the monthly expenditure incurred on various breeds of horses in the following order:-

Turki	:	480 dams.
Yabu	:	400 dams.
Tazi	:	320 dams.
Jangalah	:	240 dams.

These rates pertain to a period when the nobles received 9.600 dams per unit of sawar rank.

During the reign of Shah Jehan, a noble received 8,000 dams per unit of Sawar rank. In the absence of any positive evidence in this regard we can merely assume that the charges incurred against the expenditure on these horses also might have decreased in the same proportion. Some positive evidence will give us an idea of the amount of money which the nobles having their racial affiliations with other lands used to get more than the indigeneous nobles.

For the rates of expenditure on horses, please see Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann II p.245.

S. No.	Name of the Noble	Highest Rank	Rank during our period	No. of troopers found	No. of horses	TURKI		YABU		TAZI		JANGALAH	
						No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Qizilbash Khan Afshar	3000/3000 (500-2-3h)	3000/3000 (500-2-3h)	143	143	90	63	30	21	23	16	—	—
2.	Maloji Bhonsle	5000/5000	5000/5000	154	156	64	41.2	48	30.2	33	20.8	14	8.8
3.	Abdul Rasul S/o Abdullah Khan	1500/600	not known	47	47	33	70.3	13	27.6	1	2.1	—	—
4.	Mohd. Sharif Tulakchi	1000/1000	500/400	32	35	22	62.8	10	28.6	3	8.6	—	—

All the Mansabdaran-i-Khassa had got Turki horses. Only one Dakhni possessed two Turki and one Tazi horse, while one Afghan possessed Yabu horse and another Afghan possessed three Turki and one Tazi horse.

The number of horses to each Mansabdar-i-Khassa differs. They range between four and one horse. Only one Irani possessed five horses. The lowest rank of a Mansabdar-i-Khassa comes to 60 zat and 15 Sawars, while the highest rank comes to 250 zat, 120 sawars.

The salary of the matchlockmen ranged between Rs. 4/- p.m. to Rs. 6/- p.m. One fact to be noted in this regard is that almost all the matchlockmen were the Rajputs from Buxer. There was no system of increment in the salary on the basis of seniority and experience, as their salary remained constant. If a matchlockman started his career with a monthly salary of Rs. 4/- p.m. he might retire with the same amount of salary.

There seems to be no fixed retirement age for the ordinary troopers. Instances show that they served in the army even at the age of 65 years. Minimum age limit also does not appear to have existed. They could serve in the army even at the age of 16 years. The Rajputs from Buxer who served as matchlockmen in the army appear to be comparatively of a younger age than the others.

TABLE "A"

The Table showing at least three generations of a trooper serving under a noble at the same time.

S. No.	Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
1. (a)	Qizilbash Khan Afshar	8 Jamadi II 1058 A.H.; 30 June 1648; 22nd R/Y	Sheikh Buddhan s/o Sheikh Lutfullah	Sheikhzada Siddiqi
(b)	,,	,,	Sheikh Kamal s/o Sheikh Buddhan	,,
(c)	,,	,,	Sheikh Shahbaz s/o Sheikh Kamal	,,
2. (a)	Asadullah s/o Rashid Khan	24 Shawwal 1059 AH; 31 Oct. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Daulat s/o Mubarak	Muhadri (?)
(b)	,,	,,	Hayat s/o Mubarak	,,
(c)	,,	,,	Nazar Beg s/o Hayat	,,
(d)	,,	16 Shawwal 1059 AH; 23 Oct. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Baqi s/o Hayat	,,
3. (a)	Ranaji	19 Moh. 1060 AH; 22 Jan. 1650; 23rd R/Y	Taoji s/o Lokoji	Rajput Dakhni
(b)	,,	,,	Timaji s/o Lokoji	Rajput Dakhni
(c)	,,	,,	Saloji s/o Timaji	,,
4. (a)	Maloji Bhonsle	6 Rabi II 1057 AH; 11 May 1647; 20th R/Y	Hadji s/o Sipanji	,,
(b)	,,	17 Rabi II 1057 AH; 22 May 1647; 20th R/Y	Behloji s/o Sipanji	,,
(c)	,,	30 Jam. II 1057 AH; 2 Aug. 1647; 21st R/Y	Sivaji s/o Behloji	,,
5. (a)	Arab Khan	6 Moh. 1060 AH; 9 Jan. 1650; 23rd R/Y	Nisar Beg s/o Saeed Beg	Aqa Kurd
(b)	,,	9 Shaban 1058 AH; 29 Aug. 1648; 22nd R/Y	Baram Beg s/o Nisar Beg	Aqa Kurd
(c)	,,	13 Zi Hijj 1059 AH; 18 Dec. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Ismail Beg s/o Nisar Beg	,,

TABLE "B"

The Table showing at least two generations of a trooper serving a noble at the same time

S. No.	Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
1. (a)	Qizilbash Khan Afshar	8 Jam. II 1058 AH: 30 June 1648; 22nd R/Y	Mir Lutf s/o Mir Hashim	Mughal Saadaat
(b)	,,	,,	Mir Zarif s/o Lutf	,,
2. (a)	Darvesh Beg Qaqshal	11 Rabi I 1056 AH; 27 Apr. 1646; 19th R/Y	Mohammad Beg s/o Dildar Beg	Qaqshal
(b)	,,	23 Rabi I 1056 AH; 9 May 1646; 19th R/Y	Qasim Beg s/o Mohammad Beg	,,
3. (a)	,,	10 Zi Qada 1059 AH: 25 Nov. 1648; 22nd R/Y	Daulat Beg s/o Baz Beg	,,
(b)	,,	14 Safar 1060 AH: 16 Feb. 1650: 23rd R/Y	Nisar Beg s/o Daulat Beg	,,
4. (a)	Kartalab Khan	7 Moh. 1058 AH: 2 Feb. 1648; 21st R/Y	Daulat s/o Sikandar	Afghan
(b)	,,	,,	Sikandar s/o Daulat	,,
5. (a)	Hadi Dad Khan	3 Zi Qada 1055 AH; 21 Dec. 1645; 19th R/Y	Syed s/o Sharif	Afghan Bangashi
(b)	,,	27 Zi Qada 1055 AH: 14 Jan. 1646; 19th R/Y	Fateh s/o Syed	,,
6. (a)	,,	3 Ramzan 1064 AH; 18 Jul. 1653; 25th R/Y	Jalal s/o Ali	Afghan Lodi
(b)	,,	1 Shawwal 1064 AH; 15 Aug. 1653; 25th R/Y	Darvesh s/o Jalal	,,
7. (a)	Asadullah s/o Rashid Khan	24 Shawwal 1059 AH; 31 Oct. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Jamal s/o Haji	Rajput
(b)	,,	,,	Taiyab s/o Jamal	,,
8. (a)	Ilhamullah s/o Rashid Khan	25 Shawwal 1059 AH; 1 Nov. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Nazar s/o Qalandar	Kakar
(b)	,,	,,	Bayazid s/o Nazar	,,

Table "B" continued......

S. No.	Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
9. (a)	Ranaji	8 Rabi I 1057 AH; 13 Apr. 1647; 20th R/Y	Lokoji s/o Ramaji	Rajput Jadaun
(b)	,,	28 Rabi II 1057 AH; 2 June 1647; 20th R/Y	Taroji s/o Lokoji	,,
(c)	,,	19 Moh. 1060 AH; 22 Jan. 1650; 23rd R/Y	Taoji s/o Lokoji	,,
10. (a)	,,	,,	Timaji s/o Lokoji	Rajput Dakhni
(b)	,,	,,	Saloji s/o Timaji	,,
11. (a)	Maloji Bhonsle	6 Rabi II 1057 AH; 11 May 1647; 20th R/Y	Maloji s/o Daloji	,,
(b)	,,	,,	Rayoji s/o Maloji	,,
12. (a)	,,	1 Rajab 1057 AH; 2 Aug. 1647; 21st R/Y	Eloji s/o Nathoji	,,
(b)	,,	,,	Emaji s/o Eloji	,,
13. (a)	Jadaun Rai	24 Moh. 1060 AH; 27 Jan. 1650; 23rd R/Y	Kishnaji s/o Ranuji	,,
(b)	,,	23 Moh. 1060 AH; 26 Jan. 1650; 23rd R/Y	Heroji s/o Kishnaji	,,
14. (a)	Udaji Ram	21 Jam. II 1056 AH; 4 Aug. 1646; 20th R/Y	Sheikh Bahai s/o Chand	Sheikhzada Qureshi
(b)	,,	3 Jam. I 1056 AH; 17 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Ghazi s/o Sheikh Bahai	,,
15. (a)	,,	7 Moh. 1058 AH; 2 Feb. 1648; 21st R/Y	Jalal s/o Ganga	Afghan Ghori
(b)	,,	3 Jam. I 1056 AH; 17 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Khudawand s/o Jalal	,,
(c)	,,	,,	Ujalki s/o Jalal	,,
16. (a)	,,	,,	Kishnaji s/o Kaluji	Pandit
(b)	,,	23 Jam. II 1056 AH; 6 Aug. 1646; 20th R/Y	Rudraji s/o Kishnaji	,,
(c)	,,	14 Rabi II 1057 AH; 19 May 1647; 20th R/Y	Hami Rao s/o Kishnaji	,,

TABLE "B" Continued......

S. No.		Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
17.	(a)	Habash Khan	19 Rabi II 1056 AH; 4 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Rambhaji s/o Ranuji	Rajput Dakhni
	(b)	,,	,,	Bhiknaji s/o Rambhaji	,,
18.	(a)	,,	26 Rabi II 1056 AH; 11 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Siddi Baleel s/o Siddi Kale	Habashi
	(b)	,,	,,	Siddi Suroor s/o Siddi Baleel	,,
19.	(a)	,,	,,	Tirmal Rao s/o Timaji	Zunnardar
	(b)	,,	,,	Jakhoji s/o Tirmal Rao	,,
20.	(a)	Arab Khan	9 Shaban 1058 AH; 29 Aug. 1648; 22nd R/Y	Karim s/o Jalal	Rajput Bais
	(b)	,,	5 Ramzan 1052 AH; 27 Nov. 1642; 16th R/Y	Kale s/o Karimdad	,,
21.	(a)	,,	6 Moh. 1060 AH; 9 Jan. 1650; 23rd R/Y	Nisar Beg s/o Saeed Beg	Aqa Kurd
	(b)	,,	9 Shaban 1058 AH; 29 Aug. 1648; 22nd R/Y	Bairam Beg s/o Nisar Beg	,,
	(c)	,,	13 Zi Hijj 1059 AH; 18 Dec. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Ismail Beg s/o Nisar Beg	,,
22.	(a)	Mohd. Sharif Tulakchi	22 Shawwal 1056 AH; 1 Dec. 1646; 20th R/Y	Mohd. Ata s/o Mohd. Salih	Tulakchi
	(b)	,,	8 Jam. I 1052 AH; 4 Aug. 1642; 15th R/Y	Mohd. Islam s/o Salih	,,
	(c)	,,	9 Zi Qada 1055 AH; 27 Dec. 1646; 19th R/Y	Mohd. Dost s/o Mohd. Islam	,,
23.	(a)	,,	28 Safar 1058 AH; 24 March 1648; 21st R/Y	Mujib Beg s/o Ewaz Beg	,,
	(b)	,,	8 Safar 1058 AH; 4 March 1648; 21s R/Y	Ashor Beg s/o Mujib Beg	,,
24.	(a)	Mir Mohd. Ali s/o Mir Musa Mazandarani	6 Jam. II 1053 AH; 4 May 1652; 26th R/Y	Sheikh Ismail s/o Sheikh Zainuddin	Siddiqui ,,

TABLE "B" Continued......

S. No.	Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
(b)	Mir Mohd. Ali s/o Mir Musa Mazandarani	5 Rajab 1060 AH; 4 July 1650; 24th R/Y	Sheikh Abdur Rasul s/o Sheikh Ismail	Siddiqui
25. (a)	Sabaji Salik	20 Jam. II 1057 AH; 23 July 1647; 21st R/Y	Sheikh Farid s/o Ashraf-ul-Mulk	Sheikhzada Bhelum
	,,	,,		
(b)	,,	25 Ramzan 1057 AH; 24 Oct. 1647; 21st R/Y	Sheikh Fathullah s/o Sheikh Farid	,,

TABLE "C"

The Table showing brothers serving under a noble at the same time.

S. No.	Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
1. (a)	Husamuddin Khan	16 Shaban 1057 AH; 16 Sept. 1647; 21st R/Y	Ram Das s/o Kharak Sen	Rajput Jadaun
(b)	,,	,,	Ram Chand s/o Kharak Sen	,,
2. a)	,,	28 Safar 1058 AH; 24 March 1648; 21st R/Y	Abdur Rehman s/o Sheikh Raju	Sheikhzada Qureshi
(b)	,,	,,	Mohd. Amin s/o Raju	,,
3. (a)	Darvesh Beg Qaqshal	26 Shaban 1058 AH; 15 Sept. 1648; 22nd R/Y	Nisar Beg s/o Baqi Beg	Qaqshal
(b)	,,	,,	Khush Hal Beg s/o Baqi Beg	,,
4. (a)	Khudawand Khan Dakhni	4 Shawwal 1058 AH; 22 Oct. 1648; 22nd R/Y	Abdul Hakim s/o Abdur Rahim	Siddiqui
(b)	,,	,,	Abdul Karim s/o Sh. Abdur Rahim	,,
5. (a)	Rashid Khan Ansari	2 Moh. 1054 AH; 11 March 1644; 17th R/Y	Alah Dad s/o Fateh	Afghan
(b)	,,	,,	Hyder s/o Fateh	,,
6. (a)	,,	,,	Murad s/o Misri	,,
(b)	,,	,,	Hamda s/o Misri	,,
7. (a)	Asadullah s/o Rashid Khan Ansari	8 Jam. I 1056 AH; 22 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Kar s/o Sahak	,,

TABLE "C" Continued......

S. No.		Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
	(b)	Asadullah s/o Rashid Khan Ansari	8 Jam. I 1056 AH; 22 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Nadim s/o Sahak	Afghan
8.	(a)	"	24 Shawwal 1059; AH; 31 Oct. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Nazar Beg s/o Hayat	Afghan Bangashi
	(b)	"	27 Shawwal 1059 AH; 3 Nov. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Baqi s/o Hayat	"
9.	(a)	Asadullah s/o Rashid Khan Ansari	15 Moh. 1059 AH; 29 Jan. 1649; 22nd R/Y	Peerzada s/o Mirza	Khail
	(b)	"	24 Shawwal 1059 AH; 31 Oct. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Qalandar s/o Mirza	"
10.	(a)	"	"	Raj s/o Kajju	Lodari (?)
	(b)	"	"	Majnun s/o Kajju	"
11.	(a)	"	"	Ali s/o Shamsher	"
	(b)	"	"	Jamal s/o Shamsher	"
12.	(a)	Kishnaji Rao	12 Zi Qada 1056 AH; 20 Dec. 1646; 20th R/Y	Sheikh Gharib s/o Sheikh Ibrahim	Sheikhzada Siddiqi
	(b)	"	26 Zi Qada 1056 AH; 3 Jan. 1647; 20th R/Y	Sheikh Kamal s/o Sheikh Ibrahim	" "
13.	(a)	Maloji Bhonsle	6 Rabi II 1057 AH; 11 May 1647; 20th R/Y	Bhanji s/o Kondaji	Pandit
	(b)	"	"	Modhaji s/o Kondaji	"
14.	(a)	"	1 Rajab 1057 AH; 2 Aug. 1647; 21st R/Y	Emaji s/o Nathoji	Rajput Dakhni
	(b)	"	"	Eloji s/o Nathoji	"
15.	(a)	Jadaun Rai	13 Zi Hijj 1056 AH; 20 Jan. 1647; 20th R/Y	Jankoji s/o Kokji	"
	(b)	"	6 Rabi I 1057 AH; 11 April 1647; 20th R/Y	Makoji s/o Kokji	"

TABLE "C" Continued......

S. No.		Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
16.	(a)	Rustam Rao	18 Rabi I 1057 AH, 23 Apr. 1647; 20th R/Y	Modji s/o Timaji	Rajput Dakhni
	(b)	,,	20 Rabi II 1057 AH; 25 May 1647; 20th R/Y	Timaji s/o Timaji	,,
	(c)	,,	28 Rabi II 1057 AH; 2 June 1647; 20th R/Y	Daloji s/o Timaji	,,
17.	(a)	Udaji Ram	3 Jam. I 1056 AH; 17 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Venkat s/o Jalal	Ghori
	(b)	,,	,,	Ujalki s/o Jalal	,,
18.	(a)	,,	21 Jam. II 1056 AH; 4 Aug. 1646; 20th R/Y	Syed Jalal s/o Syed Ismail	Saadaat Husaini
	(b)	,,	,,	Syed Chunnu s/o Syed Ismail	,,
19.	(a)	,,	23 Jam. II 1056 AH; 6 Aug. 1646; 20th R/Y	Naroji s/o Timaji	Pandit
	(b)	,,	,,	Nakoji s/o Timaji	,,
20.	(a)	,,	2 Moh. 1058 AH; 28 Jan. 1648; 21st R/Y	Damaji s/o Narsing Rao	Rajput Dakhni
	(b)	,,	28 Moh. 1058 AH; 23 Fab. 1648; 21st R/Y	Kishnaji s/o Narsing Rao	,,
	(c)	,,	30 Rabi II 1057 AH; 4 June 1647; 20th R/Y	Dinkar Rai s/o Narsing Rao	,,
21.	(a)	Usman Khan Rohilla	4 Jam. I 1058 AH; 27 May 1648; 21st R/Y	Abdullah s/o Ayub	Afghan Kalyani(?)
	(b)	,,	,,	Abdun Nabi s/o Ayub	,,
22.	(a)	Habash Khan	19 Rabi II 1056 AH; 4 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Kalyan Rao s/o Malhar Rao	Pandit Zunnardar
	(b)	,,	,,	Sawant Rao s/o Malhar Rao	,,
23.	(a)	,,	19 Rabi II 1056 AH; 4 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Siddi Jauhar s/o Umar	Habashi
	(b)	,,	,,	Siddi Ismail s/o Umar	,,

TABLE "C" Continued......

S. No.		Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
24.	(a)	Habash Khan	29 Zi Hijj 1053 AH; 9 Mar. 1644; 17th R/Y	Raoli s/o Mankoji	Rajput Dakhni
	(b)	,,	26 Rabi II 1056 AH; 11 June 1646; 19th R/Y	Birjuji s/o Mankoji	,,
25.	(a)	,,	,,	Insaji s/o Jagan Nath Rao	,,
	(b)	,,	,,	Isaji s/o Jagan Nath Rao	,,
26.	(a)	Arab Khan	9 Jam. II 1058 AH; 1 July 1648; 22nd R/Y	Mir Ahmed Beg s/o Mir Mohammad	Arab
	(b)	,,	,,	Mir Mansur Beg s/o Mir Mohammad	,,
	(c)	,,	9 Shaban 1058 AH; 29 Aug. 1648; 22nd R/Y	Daulat Beg s/o Mir Mohammad	,,
27.	(a)	,,	,,	Bairam Beg s/o Nisar Beg	Aqa Kurd
	(b)	,,	13 Zi Hijj 1059 AH; 18 Dec. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Ismail Beg s/o Nisar Beg	,,
28.	(a)	,,	21 Zi Hijj 1059 AH; 26 Dec. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Mir Mohd. s/o Mohammad	Rajput Khokjka
	(b)	,,	3 Shaban 1061 AH; 22 July 1650; 25th R/Y	Pir Mohd. s/o Mohammad	,,
29.	(a)	Mohammad Sharif Tulakchi	8 Jam. I 1052 AH; 4 Aug. 1642; 15th R/Y	Mohammad Islam s/o Mohammad Salih	Tulakchi
	(b)	,,	22 Shawwal 1056 AH; 1 Dec. 1646; 20th R/Y	Mohammad Ata s/o Mohammad Salih	,,
30.	(a)	Mirza Mohammad Talib	27 Shaban 1061 AH; 15 Aug. 1651; 25th R/Y	Khan Beg s/o Bairam Beg	Mughal
	(b)	,,	27 Shaban 1062 AH; 3 Aug. 1652; 26th R/Y	Hasan Beg s/o Bairam Beg	,,

TABLE "C" Continued......

S. No.		Name of the noble	Date and Year	Troopers	Group
31.	(a)	Allah Quli Beg	9 Zi Qada 1056 AH; 17 Dec. 1646 20th R/Y	Numan Beg s/o Ashor Beg	–
	(b)	,,	,,	Shaida Beg s/o Ashor Beg	–
32.	(a)	Beeroji Dehkar	11 Jam. I 1053 AH; 28 July 1643; 16th R/Y	Kayyaji s/o Mankoji	Dehkar
	(b)	,,	,,	Kishnaji s/o Mankoji	,,
33.	(a)	Madho Singh s/o Jog Raj	17 Shawwal 1059 AH; 24 Oct. 1649; 23rd R/Y	Damoran s/o Dev Sen	Rajput Bais
	(b)	,,	24 Shawwal 1059 AH; 31 Oct. 1649: 23rd R/Y	Damorad s/o Dev Sen	,,

TABLE "D"

The Table showing the discrepancy in the period of verification of the troopers and branding of their horses.

S.No.	Noble	Trooper	Group	Domicile	Breed	No.	Date of 1st branding	Date of 2nd branding	Date of 3rd branding	Period between these dates
1.	Sazawar Khan	Maura Beg s/o Dumdar Beg	—	—	Yabu	1	20 Jam. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	11 Saf. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 8 months
2.	,,	Ewaz Beg s/o Pipki Beg	Barlas	—	Turki	1	29 Rab. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	22 Zi Q. 1056 AH; 20th R/Y	—	7 months only
3.	Qazzaq Khan	Mirza Mohd. s/o Faulad Beg	—	Hisar	,,	1	18 Shaw. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	9 Rab. I 1061 AH; 24th R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 4 months.
4.	Uzbeg Khan	Daulat Beg s/o Amir Beg	—	—	,,	1	18 Shab. 1045 AH; 18th R/Y	5 Zi Q. 1054 AH; 18th R/Y	—	2 months only.
5.	,,	Rehman Quli Beg s/o Safi Quli	—	Hisar	,,	1	13 Jam. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	2 Moh. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Yrs & 6 months.
6.	,,	Madho Das s/o Bal Chand	Rajput	—	,,	1	19 Jam. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	2 Moh. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 6 months.
7.	,,	Jahandar Khan s/o Hyder	Rajput Bakal	—	Yabu	1	14 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	6 Moh. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	2 Yrs. & 7 months.
8.	Hadi Dad Khan	Qambar s/o Qalandar	Afghan Bangashi	—	Turki	1	27 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	11 Zi Q. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	—	1 Yr. & 11 months.
9.	,,	Azmat s/o Izzat	Afghan	—	,,	1	3 Zi Hijj 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	11 Zi Q. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	—	1 Yr. & 10 months.
10.	,,	Hasan s/o Rajan	Afghan Karrani	—	,,	1	13 Zi Hijj 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	11 Zi Q. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	—	1 Yr. & 10 months

TABLE "D" Continued......

S.No.	Noble	Trooper	Group	Domicile	Breed	No.	Date of 1st branding	Date of 2nd branding	Date of 3rd branding	Period between these dates
11.	Hadi Dad Khan	Mir Ismail s/o Mirza Husain	Saadaat Husaini	—	Turki	1	27 Rab. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	15 Zi Q. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	—	1 Yr. & 7 months.
12.	,,	Raja s/o Khwajang	Afghan Kashi	—	,,	1	3 Zi Hijj 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	29 Zi Q. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	—	1 Yr. & 11 months.
13.	Asadullah s/o Rashid Khan	Akhtiar s/o Man Singh	Afghan	—	,,	1	16 Zi Q. 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	8 Jam. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	26 Shaw. 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	2 Yrs & 5 months; 4 Yrs & 5 months.
14.	Ilhamullah s/o Rashid Khan	Shahbaz s/o Sheikh Niazi	Sarkhail	—	,,	1	15 Moh. 1049 AH; 12th R/Y	25 Shaw. 1059 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	10 Yrs & 8 months.
15.	Dannaji s/o Bahadurji	Syed s/o Ismail	Rajput	—	Yabu	1	5 Zi Hijj 1054 AH; 18th R/Y	16 Shab. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	7 Saf. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	2 Yrs & 8 months: 2 Yrs & 6 months.
16.	Ranaji	Sheikh Bhikkhan s/o Makhan	Sheikhzada Husaini	—	Turki	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH: 20th R/Y	19 Moh. 1060 AH: 23rd R/Y	18 Zi Q. 1060 AH: 24th R/Y	2 Yrs & 9 months; 9 months oly.
17.	,,	Daud s/o Miranji	Ghori	—	,,	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	19 Moh. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	18 Zi Q. 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	2 Yrs & 9 months; 2 Yrs & 9 months.
18.	Jadaun Rai	Kishnaji s/o Ramuji	Rajput Dakhni	—	Tazi	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	27 Zi Q. 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	—	2 Yrs & 7 months.
19.	,,	Junaid s/o Shamsuddin	Rajput Khokhar	—	Turki	1	6 Rabi II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	3 Saf. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	21 Zi Q. 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	2 Yrs & 10 months; 9 months only.
20.	,,	Jaoji s/o Lokoji	Rajput Dakhni	—	Yabu	1	6 Rab. II 1060 AH; 20th R/Y	14 Moh. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	21 Zi Q. 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	2 Yrs & 9 months; 10 months only.
21.	,,	Sonji s/o Manji	,,	—	Turki	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	14 Moh. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	21 Zi Q. 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	2 Yrs & 9 months; 10 months only.

TABLE "D" Continued

S.No.	Noble	Trooper	Group	Domicile	Breed	No.	Date of 1st branding	Date of 2nd branding	Date of 3rd branding	Period between these dates
.2.	Rustam Rao	Niamji s/o Siddhoji	Pandit Zunnardar	—	Tazi	1	6 Rabi II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	25 Rab. II 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Years.
23.	,,	Kondji s/o Lolji	Rajput Dakhni	—	,,	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	17 Jam. I 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Yrs.
.4.	,,	Rawat Rao s/o Aubaji	Rajput Pawar	—	Turki	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	17 Jam. I 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Yrs.
.5.	,,	Isaji s/o Nathoji	Rajput Dakhni	—	Tazi	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	18 Jam. II 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	—	4 Yrs.
26.	,,	Tokoji s/o Taqaji	Rajput Mukimla (?)	—	Yabu	1	6 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	18 Jam. II 1060 AH; 24th R/Y	—	4 Yrs.
7.	Ahmed Khan Niazi	Ishaq Ali s/o Abul Hasan	Kambo	—	Turki	1	23 Zi Hijj 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	16 Zi Q. 1058 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	4 Yrs. & 11 months.
28.	,,	Ali Mohd. s/o Nur Mohd.	Sheikhzada Bhelum	—	,,	1	23 Zi Hijj 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	16 Zi Q. 1058 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	4 Yrs. & 11 months.
29.	,,	Sara s/o Shah Bahadin	Afghan Niazi	—	Tazi	1	23 Zi Hijj 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	16 Zi Q. 1058 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	4 Yrs. & 11 months.
30.	,,	Shah s/o Alawul	,,	—	,,	1	23 Zi Hijj 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	16 Zi Q. 1058 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	4 Yrs. & 11 months.
31.	,,	Burhan s/o Bahlol	,,	—	Yabu	1	9 Moh. 1054 AH; 17th R/Y	16 Zi Q. 1058 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	4 Yrs. & 10 months.
32.	,,	Khwaja Ahmad s/o Khwaja Waris	Sheikhzada Siddiqui		Turki	1	19 Zi Hijj 1054 AH; 18th R/Y	16 Zi Q. 1058 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 11 months.

TABLE "D" Continued

S.No.	Noble	Trooper	Group	Domicile	Breed	No.	Date of 1st branding	Date of 2nd branding	Date of 3rd branding	Period between these dates
33.	Mohd. Sharif Tulakchi	Mohd. Dost s/o Mohd Islam	Tulakchi	—	Turki	1	8 Jam. I 1052 AH; 15th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 6 months.
34.	"	Sheikh Shah Mohd s/o Sheikh Raju	Qureishi		"	1	12 Jam. II 1052 AH: 16th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 5 months.
35.	"	Mir Nasir s/o Mir Niamatullah	Tulakchi	—	"	1	12 Jam. II 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	28 Saf. 1058 AH: 21st R/Y	3 Yrs. & 5 months; 2 Yrs. & 3 months.
36.	"	Jan Mohammad s/o Nazir Beg	Qipchaq	—	"	1	8 Jam. II 1051 AH; 15th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 21st R/Y	12 Saf. 1058 AH; 21st R/Y	4 Yrs. & 5 mohths; 2 Yrs. & 3 months.
37.	"	Shahbaz Beg s/o Fateh Beg	Tulakchi	—	"	1	12 Jam. II 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	1 Zi Q. 1056 AH; 20th R/Y	3 Yrs. & 5 months; 11 months.
38.	"	Mohd. Arif s/o Wali Beg	Barlas	—	"	1	8 Jam. II 1051 AH; 15th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	28 Saf. 1058 AH; 21st R/Y	4 Yrs. & 5 months; 2 Yrs. & 2 months.
39.	"	Mujib Beg s/o Ewaz Beg	Tulakchi	—	Yabu	1	12 Jam. II 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	28 Saf. 1058 AH; 21st R/Y	3 Yrs. & 5 months; 2 Yrs. & 3 months.
40.	"	Talib s/o Luqman	Afghan Lohani	—	"	1	12 Jam. II 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	9 Zi Q. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	27 Shaw. 1056 AH; 20th R/Y	3 Yrs. & 5 months; 11 months; 1 Yr. & 4 months. The date of his 4th muster is 28 Saf. 1058 AH; 21st R/Y
41.	"	Mohd. Dost s/o Mohd Islam	Tulakchi	—	Turki	1	8 Jam. I 1052 AH; 15th R/Y	9 ZiQ. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 6 months.

TABLE "E"

The Table showing the discrepancy in the period of verification and branding of the horses of Mansabdaran-i-Khassa

S.No.	Mansabdar	Group	Domicile	Breed	No.	Date of 1st branding	Date of 2nd branding	Date of 3rd branding	Period between these dates
1.	Abdullah Beg	—	—	Turki	2	6 Raj, 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	12 Shaw. 1054 AH; 18th R/Y	26 Zi Q. 1054 AH; 18th R/Y	2 Yrs. & 3 months; 1 month & 13 days only.
2.	Mohmood s/o Kamal	Afghan	—	,,	1	1 Raj. 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	22 Moh. 1055 AH; 18th R/Y	11 Ram. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	2 Yrs. & 6 months; 2 Yrs. & 8 months.
3.	Bhakri Daulat s/o Bahadur Beg	Chaghta	Andijan	,,	4	22 Raj. 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	25 Zi Hijj 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	1 Saf. 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	5 months only; 3 Yrs. & 1 month; 1 Yr. 1 month 12 days. The date of his 4th muster is 13 Rab. I 1058 AH; 21st R/Y
4.	Sajawal s/o Haji	Afghan Serwani	—	,,	1	Rajab 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	7 Rab. II 1055 AH; 18th R/Y	9 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	2 Yrs, & 7 months; 2 Yrs.
5.	Madho Singh s/o Jog Raj	Rajput Kachhwaha	—	,,	3	17 Jam. II 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	5 Ram. 1059 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	2 Yrs. & 2 months
6.	Syed Ali	—	Burhanpur	,,	1	28 Rab. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	15 Shab. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	—	2 Yrs. & 4 months
7.	Ibrahim Khan s/o Babu Khan	Afghan Karrani	—	,,	1	24 Zi Q. 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	10 Rab. I 1053 AH; 16th R/Y	10 Ram. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	3 months only; 4 Yrs. & 5 months.
8.	Sultan Husain s/o Mir Mohd. Qasim	—	Sabzwar	,,	2	10 Raj. 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	20 Shaw. 1055 AH; 19th R/Y	22 Rab. II 1057 AH; 20th R/Y	3 Yrs. & 3 months; 4 months only; The date of his 4th muster is 11 Ram. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y.

TABLE "E" Continued.....

S.No.	Mansabdar	Group	Domicile	Breed	No.	Date of 1st branding	Date of 2nd branding	Date of 3rd branding	Period between these dates
9.	Mursal s/o Behran Das	Rajput Bansal (?)	—	,,	3	15 Ram. 1054 AH; 18th R/Y	1 Zi Hijj 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 2 months.
10.	Ashhad s/o Bahadur Beg	Jalair	—	Turki	3	25 Raj. 1052 AH; 16th R/Y	6 Rabi I 1058 AH; 17th R/Y	—	5 Yrs. & 7 months
11.	Abdul s/o Latif Farooqi	Farooqi	—	,,	1	17 Zi Hijj 1053 AH; 17th R/Y	11 Rab. I 1058 AH; 21st R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 3 months.
12.	Mir Mabud s/o Mir Aflatun	—	Mashhad	,,	2	21 Raj. 1057 AH; 21st R/Y	13 Rab. I 1058 AH; 21st R/Y	—	7 months only.
13.	Haibat s/o Jujhar	Afghan Karrani	—	,,	1	23 Rab. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	23 Moh. 1059 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 10 months.
14.	Heeroo Singh s/o Sat	—	—	,,	2	17 Rab. I 1054 AH; 17th R/Y	26 Rab. I 1059 AH; 22nd R/Y	—	5 Yrs.
15.	Amir Beg s/o Shabbir Beg	—	—	,,	3	16 Jam. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	9 Shaw. 1059 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 4 months.
16.	Malloji s/o Maloji	—	—	,,	3	23 Rab. I 1056 AH; 19th R/Y	6 Moh. 1060 AH; 23rd R/Y	—	3 Yrs. & 10 months.

TABLE "F"

The Table showing the absence of any numerical correlation between the noble and his troopers on racial basis.

S.No.	Name of the Noble	Group	Highest Rank	Rank during our period	No. of troopers found	Irani & Turani No.	%	Afghan No.	%	Indian Muslims No.	%	Rajput No.	%	Kaisth No.	%	Maratha No.	%	Dakhni No.	%	Misc. No.	%
1.	Qizilbash Khan Afshar	Irani	3000/3000 (500 2-3h)	3000/3000 (500 2-3h)	143	51	35.66	9	6.29	33	23.76	21	14.68	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	20.2
2.	Rustam s/o Qizilbash Khan	,,	700/400	—	16	5	31.25	2	12.5	4	25.00	3	18.75	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	12.5
3.	Najaf Ali s/o Qizilbash Khan	,,	500/200	—	10	3	30.00	2	20.00	3	30.00	2	20.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.	Husamuddin Khan	,,	2000/1500	2000/1000	77	18	23.36	10	12.98	17	22.00	17	22.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	19.48
5.	Sazawar Khan	,,	3000/2500	3000/2500	206	24	11.64	27	13.16	31	15.04	31	15.04	—	—	—	—	—	—	93	45.14
6.	Shafqatullah s/o Sazawar Khan	,,	500/150	less than it	15	5	33.33	2	13.33	3	20.00	2	13.33	1	6.66	—	—	—	—	2	13.33
7.	M. Murad s/o Mir Musa Mazandarani	,,	700/400	—	11	2	18.18	—	—	2	18.18	2	18.18	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	45.81
8.	Safi Quli s/o Shah Mansur	,,	1000/500	1000/500	15	6	40.00	—	—	3	20.00	6	40.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9.	Mirza Mohd. Mashhadi	,,	—	—	14	9	64.28	—	—	—	—	1	7.14	1	7.14	—	—	—	—	3	21.42
).	Aman Beg	Turani	1500/1500	1500/1500	57	17	29.81	10	17.54	14	24.56	9	15.79	2	3.58	—	—	—	—	5	10.5
.	Abdul Rasul s/o Abdullah Khan	,,	1500/600		47	3	6.38	5	10.63	3	6.38	21	44.68	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	31.91

TABLE "F" Continued

S No.	Name of the Noble	Group	Highest Rank	Rank during our period	No. of troopers found	Group-wise composition of the troopers: Irani & Turani		Afghan		Indian Muslims		Rajput		Kaisth		Maratha		Dakhni		Misc.	
						No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
12.	Qazzaq Khan Baqi Beg Uzbeg	Turani	2000/2000	2300/2000	46	7	15.21	9	19.56	9	19.56	7	15.21	1	2.17	—	—	—	—	13	28.26
13.	Uzbeg Khan	,,	2000/2000 (500 2-3h)	—	46	17	36.95	4	8.69	6	13.43	9	19.56	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	21.73
14.	Darvesh Beg Qaqshal	,,	—	—	32	14	43.75	3	9.37	4	12.5	3	9.37	2	6.25	—	—	—	—	6	18.75
15.	Syed Mansur	Indian Muslim	3000/1500	—	14	2	14.28	2	14.28	2	14.28	2	14.28	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	42.85
16.	Kartalab Khan	,,	3000/2500	—	59	13	22.03	12	20.33	11	18.64	12	20.33	1	1.69	—	—	—	—	10	16.94
17.	Hadi Dad Khan	,,	2500/1500	1000/1000	35	2	5.70	21	60.00	5	14.28	1	2.85	2	5.71	—	—	—	—	4	11.6
18.	Khudawand Khan Dakhni	,,	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	11	52.3	1	4.76	2	9.52	1	4.76	3	14.38	3	14.38
19.	Rashid Khan Ansari	,,	4000/4000	—	15	—	—	13	86.66	—	—	2	13.33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20.	Asadullah s/o Rashid Khan Ansari	,,	1500/1000 (2h)	1000/1000	115	3	2.59	64	55.6	9	7.82	7	6.09	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	27.82
21.	Ilhamullah s/o Rashid Khan Ansari	,,	1500/1500	300/225	20	—	—	10	50.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	50.00
22.	Wali Mahaldar Khan	,,	1500/800		11	—	—	1	9.09	5	45.45	2	18.18	1	9.09	—	—	—	—	2	18.18
23.	Kishnaji Rao	Maratha	—	—	17	2	11.76	1	5.88	4	23.52	1	5.88	1	5.88	2	11.76	3	17.64	3	17.64
24.	Dannaji s/o Bahadurji	,,	—	—	13	—	—	1	7.69	2	15.38	5	38.46	—	—	4	30.76	—	—	1	7.69

TABLE "F" Continued

S.No.	Name of the Noble	Group	Highest Rank	Rank during our period	No. of troopers found	Irani & Turani No.	Irani & Turani %	Afghan No.	Afghan %	Indian Muslims No.	Indian Muslims %	Rajput No.	Rajput %	Kaisth No.	Kaisth %	Maratha No.	Maratha %	Dakhni No.	Dakhni %	Misc. No.	Misc. %
25.	Nathooji	Maratha	—	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	29.41	—	—	6	35.28	4	23.52	2	11.76
26.	Tirbang Rao	,,	—	—	10	1	10.00	1	10.00	4	40.00	1	10.00	—	—	2	20.00	—	—	1	10.00
27.	Ronaji	,,	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	2	14.28	4	28.57	—	—	4	28.57	—	—	4	28.57
28.	Maloji Bhonsle	,,	5000/5000	5000/5000	154	3	1.93	5	3.24	20	12.98	18	11.68	2	1.29	58	37.66	32	20.77	16	10.38
29.	Khandey Rao	,,	1000/100	1000/300	13	1	7.61	2	15.38	3	23.07	1	7.61	—	—	1	7.61	5	38.46	—	—
30.	Jadaun Rai	,,	5000/5000	—	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	34.48	—	—	18	62.75	—	—	1	3.44
31.	Rustam Rao	,,	—	2000/1000	19	—	—	1	5.26	1	5.26	6	31.57	—	—	9	47.33	2	10.52	—	—
32.	Udaji Ram	,,	3000/2000	—	146	3	2.05	15	10.27	49	33.56	10	6.85	1	.68	21	13.7	17	11.64	30	20.54
33.	Ahmad Khan Niazi	Afghan	3000/3000	2500/2500	30	2	6.66	8	26.66	11	36.66	4	13.33	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	16.66
34.	Usman Khan Rohilla	,,	1000/800	1000/700	14	—	—	11	78.57	—	—	—	—	1	7.14	—	—	—	—	2	14.28
35.	Habash Khan	Dakhni	3000/1500	3000/1500	43	1	2.32	1	2.32	4	9.3	2	4.65	—	—	18	41.86	16	37.20	1	2.32
36.	Beeroji Dehkar	Rajput	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	91.66	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	8.34
37.	Arab Khan	Arab	2000/2000 (500 2-3h)	2000/2000 (500 2-3h)	114	24	21.24	14	12.28	12	8.7	18	15.78	6	5.26	—	—	—	—	40	35.08
38.	Mohd. Sharif Tulakchi	—	1000/1000	500/400	32	3	9.37	2	6.25	4	12.5	5	15.62	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	56.25
39.	Mirza M. Talib	—	—	—	12	1	8,33	—	—	2	16.16	1	8.33	1	8.33	—	—	—	—	7	58.33
40.	Mohammad Shah	—	—	—	18	4	22.22	1	5.55	4	22.22	6	33.33	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	16.66
41.	Allah Quli Beg	—	—	—	17	8	47.05	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	52.94
	Ratio of the troopers on racial basis :				1750	255	14.46	269	15.37	297	16.98	268	15.32	25	1.42	144	8.8	82	4.68	409	23.32

TABLE "G"

The Table showing troop-wise distribution of horses.

S. No.	Group	No. of Troopers	No. of Horses	Turki		Yabu		Tazi		Jangalah		
				No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1.	Iranis and Turanis	255	260	168	64.61	56	21.53	36	13.84	—	—	
2.	Afghans	269	269	165	61.33	61	22.76	42	15.61	—	—	Breed of one
3.	Indian Muslims	297	293	151	51.53	82	27.98	54	18.43	6	2.04	horse is not given.
4.	Rajputs	268	270	153	56.66	67	24.81	50	18.51	—	—	Four persons did not
5.	Kaisth	25	25	14	56.00	9	36.00	2	8.00	—	—	present any horse.
6.	Maratha	144	147	49	33.33	44	29.93	42	28.57	12	8.16	
7.	Dakhnis	82	84	39	46.42	24	28.57	18	21.42	3	3.57	
8.	Miscellaneous	499	427	242	56.67	99	23.18	76	17.79	10	2.34	
	TOTAL	1750	1775	931	54.33	422	26.17	340	17.65	31	1.79	

Rafi Ahmad Alavi

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK OF ABUL FAZL

1

FAMILY AND MILIEU

The influence of heredity and environment goes a long way in determining one's thought and personality. It is, therefore, necessary to study the circumstances in which Abul Fazl's family settled in India and the way it reacted and responded to the various religious movements and social and cultural trends of the period.

Abul Fazl's ancestors hailed from Yemen. One of his forefathers, Shaikh Musa, fifth in ascent, lived, in Siwistan (Sindh) at a place called Rel (ریل) [1] The family continued to live in Siwistan till the close of the fifteenth century. Later, Shaikh Khizr, father of Shaikh Mubarak, left Siwistan urged by a desire to meet the saints and *'ulama* of India.[2]

While on his religious and literary itinerary in India, Shaikh Khizr reached Nagaur, which had attained great fame as a mystic centre under Shaikh Hamiduddin Sufi Sawali, a *Khalifa* of Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti of Ajmer. Shaikh Khizr settled near the tomb of Shaikh Hamiduddin. It was at Nagaur that Abul Fazl's father, Shaikh Mubarak, was born in 911 A.H./1506 A.D. Soon after his birth, Shaikh Khizr decided to settle permanently at Nagaur and went to Siwistan in order to bring the other members of his family. On the way, however, he died. Mubarak and his mother had to face great hardships at Nagaur on that account. Famine broke out at this time and added to the miseries of the destitute family. Later on the epidemic of plague ravaged Nagaur and many members of Khizr's family fell victim to it. Despite these hardships which the family had to suffer, Mubarak's mother brought up the child with great care and arranged the best possible education for him. Mubarak displayad unusual intelligence at that early age. When he was

1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Blochmann, Vol. I, Preface, p.I.
2. *A'in-i Akbari*, Text, Vol. II, p. 259; Jarrett, Vol. III, p. 419.

fourteen he knew by heart many of the sciences then taught at the *madrasahs.*

One of the earliest teachers of Mubarak was Shaikh Attan[1] who lived up to the age of one hundred and twenty years, and was known for his piety and scholarship. Another important teacher who influenced Shaikh Mubarak was Shaikh Fayyazi, a disciple of Shaikh Ubaidullah Ahrar. Mubarak remained in close contact with Shaikh Fayyazi for four months[2]. Later on, Mubarak migrated to Ahmadabad where a large number of scholars from other towns of India, and even abroad, had gathered together. Here he met distinguished scholars and learnt many subjects at their feet. Maulana Abul Fazl Gazruni, an eminent scholar, adopted him as his son. At Ahmadabad, Mubarak met mystics of the Shattari, Chishti and the Suharawardi orders and studied books on sufism with them.

Mubarak later on developed 'other-worldly' attitude and would have renounced the world but for Shaikh Yusuf who advised him to go to Agra and set up a *madrasah* there. Shaikh Mubarak reached Agra on 6th Muharram 950 A.H./April 10, 1543 A.D. With his stay at Agra began a new and more impressive phase of his life. Here he came into contact with Shaikh Alauddin Majzub, known as Shaikh Alawal Balawal.[3] It was at his suggestion that Mubarak took up his residence at Char Bagh Villa, built by Babur, on the left bank of the Jamuna, near the house of Mir Rafiuddin Safavi of Inju (Shiraz).[4]

According to Beveridge,[5] Mubarak was married to a girl who was a near relation of Mir Rafiuddin, but Abul Fazl does not say anything about his mother. It is, therefore, difficult to accept or reject Beveridge's statement. Abul Fazl, however, praises his mother in eloquent terms. He says: "She possessed all the noble qualities of men and always adorned her precious hours with good works. She united modesty with

1. *Gulzar-i Abrar*, Rotograph of MS in British Museum, Department of History, Aligarh; Urdu translation by Fazal Ahmad, Agra, p. 225.
2. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 260; Jarrett, Vol. III, p. 420.
3. For brief biographical account, see *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi, pp. 280-281.
4. *A'in-i Akbari*, Blochmann, Vol. I, Preface, p. XXVI.
5. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. I, p. 399 footnote 5.

strength of character and her words were in accord with her deeds"[1].

Sher Khan, Salim Khan and their grandees proposed for him a suitable freehold, but finding that the accptance of such favours would be inconsistent with his views and spiritual values, Mubarak declined the offer and thus raised his own reputation.[2]

Mubarak set up a *madrasah* soon after his arrival at Agra. His special field of instruction was philosophy and he attracted a number of scholars to learn the subject. Many famous scholars of the 16th century were among his pupils, Mulla Abdul Qadir Badaoni being one of them. His *madrasah* continued to function in spite of the political turmoil which preceded the re-establishment of Mughal rule.

It will not be out of place here to refer to some of those religious and cultural trends of the period which determined the general religious climate and attracted some of the important members of intelligentsia.

The Bhakti movement which had created a stir in the religious thought of medieval India, and had produced men like Nanak, Kabir, Dhanna, Chaitanya and others, had passed through the period of its efflorescence but the ideas it had articulated were not dead. During the sixteenth century itself some very important saints of the Bhakti school had appeared and had influenced the public mind. Dadu Dayal,[3] for instance, lived during the time of Akbar. How he emphasized the basic spirit of religion may be gauged from his following observations:

> "Dadu the tank of His presence is in the heart and there I take my complete ablution in front of Allah I say the prayers there.
>
> "Dadu makes his body His mosque, he finds the five members of the assembly *(jama'at)* in the mind as well as the leader of the prayers; the indescribable God is Himself in front of him and these he makes hisbows and greetings.

"Dadu regards the whole body as the rosary on which the name of the Generous One *(Karim)* is repeated; there is one fast and there is no second, and the word *(Kalima)* is He himself.

1. *A'in-i Akbari*, II, p. 279; Jarrett, III, p. 446; *Insha*. III, p. 342.
2. *A'in-i Akbari*. II, p. 263; Jarrett, III, p. 424; *Insha*, III, p. 342.
3. Sudhakar Dwivedi, *Dadu Dayal Ki Bani*, Introduction.

"Thus Dadu rises before Allah with concentrated attention and goes himself above the heavens *(arsh)* to the place where the *Rahman* lives."[1]

At another place he declares:

"In all vessels whether Hindu or Muslim there is one soul".

The *Dadupanthis* propagated these ideas.

Another group, known as the *Khakis*, appeared amongst the followers of Dadu. Kilh and Maluk Das belonged to this sect. Maluk Das condemned the externalia of religion and declared that true religion was inwards and that *Maya* was the enemy of man. He said:

"Maluk Das, why art thou in error

Rama and Rahim are the names of one".[2]

When the teachings of all these Bhakti saints are analysed it appears that they had particularly emphasized the following ideas:

(a) That it is possible for every individual human being to approach Him and establish direct communion with Him, without the help of an intermediary;

(b) That all human beings were knit in a common bond and that all distinction of birth or caste was unreal and therefore abominable;

(c) That real religion consisted in following its spirit which emphasized the basic unity of all religions, and not in merely adhering to its form and emphasizing rituals and external practices.

In some form or the other these ideas were current at the time when Shaikh Mubarak and Abul Fazl lived and moved in India. Dr. Tara Chand has rightly observed that the ideas of the Bhakti movement had exercised a very powerful influence on the mind of Akbar. "Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi*," observes Dr. Tara Chand, "was not an isolated freak of an autocrat who had more power than he knew how to employ, but an inevitable result of the forces which were deeply surging in India's breast, and finding expression in the teachings of men like Kabir".[3]

Another very important movement of the period which had tremendous influence on the mind of Mubarak and his sons was that of the Mahdavis.

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1. *Dadu Dayal Ki Bani*, p. 95.
2. *Maluk Das Ki Bani*, p. 22, as cited by Dr. Tara Chand, p. 190.
3. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 165.

The concept of a Mahdi, literally the 'guided one', is as old in Islam as the first century A.H. Muhammad bin al-Hanafiya was perhaps the first to claim that position. Hitti correctly observes that the "Mahdi hypothesis which involved the expectation of a saviour leader who will usher in a new era of liberty and prosperity was undoubtedly a reflex of Messianic and allied ideas.[1]"

There is no reference to Mahdi in *Sahih Muslim* or *Sahih Bukhari*, but Tirmizi, Ibn-i-Maja and Ibn Da'ud give many traditions of the Prophet referring to the rise of the Mahdi. Briefly put the basic ideas involved in this concept were the following:

1. There would appear a guide or a Mahdi who would belong to the family of the Prophet. His name would be Abdullah.
2. He would appear before the 'end of Time' or the Doomsday.
3. He would restore justice in a world full of injustice and crime.

There have been many occasions when the concept of the promised Deliverer attracted the attention of considerable sections of Muslim society who saw in the struggle of the Mahdi the chance of escaping injustice and tyranny. As this Deliverer was to reform the social and political vices, the political powers usually treated such trends of thought with suspicion. Dissatisfaction in society evoked in frustrated religious minds the expectation of a Mahdi and this, naturally, excited the wrath and suspicion of the rulers. It was the decline of the Shatrqi Kingdom of Jaunpur which developed in the mind of Saiyid Muhammad[2] of Jaunpur the urge to reform the social order and draw people to a life of religious piety and moral integrity.

Saiyid Muhammad, after extensive travels, reached Barhli (a few miles from Patan in Gujarat) and was proclaimed as the *Mahdi* in

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1. *History of the Arabs*, p. 248.
2. For an early account of Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, see *Insaf Namah* by Bandagi Miyan Wali, Hyderabad, 1368 A.H. For other sources about Mahdi and Mahdism, see *Najat-ur Rashid*, Abdul Qadir Badaoni, MS Habib Ganj Collection of Aligarh Muslim University; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 74-77; *Tazkirah*, Abul Kalam Azad, Lahore edition, pp. 59-107; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 111-115; *Mahdi and Mahdism* by Margoliouth; *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, article by S.A.A. Rizvi, *Mahdavi Movement in India*, pp. 10-25.

1409. His devotion to religion and his sincerity attracted a large number of people to his fold. He criticised materialistic pursuits of the rich, the formalism of the *ulama* and the moral and spiritual degeneration of the people in general. His teachings mainly revolved round the following eight principles-

1. *Tark-i-Duniya*, Renunciation of the world;
2. *Suhbat-i-Sadiqin*, Company of the truthful;
3. *Uzlat az Khalq*, Seclusion from mankind;
4. *Tawakkul*, Resignation to the will of God;
5. *Talab i Didar i Haq*, Quest of the vision of God;
6. *'Ushr*, distribution of 1/10th of the income among the poor;
7. *Zikr-i-Kasir*, Constant zikr:
8. *Hijrat*, Migration.

Saiyid Muhammad succeeded in winning over large number of followers, but the opposition of the *ulama* forced him to wander from place to place. From Gujarat he went on pilgrimage to Macca and from there he reached the town of Farah in Baluchistan. He died in 1505.

The most outstanding successor of Mahdi was Shaikh 'Alai. Shaikh 'Alai, originally belonged to Bengal, but he decided to settle at Bayana, south east of Agra. Here he gathered numerous pupils around him and became famous as an outstanding scholar of the place. At this time Mian Abdullah Niyazi, a disciple of Saiyid Muhammad Mahdi, returned from Macca and settled at a secluded place near Bayana. Mian Niyazi was endowed with great oratorial powers and attracted by his eloquence large number of people, particularly water-carriers and wood-cutters, joined the circle of his disciples. Shaikh 'Alai also happened to visit his lectures and was so fascinated by his teachings that he adapted Mahdism.

The Mahdavis believed in organizing *daeras* to propagate their ideas and to draw people to a life of religious devotion and contemplation. The members of the *daera* established among themselves the community of property and divided the earnings among themselves. Shaikh 'Alai became a zealous member of the *daera*. His fame reached the ears of Islam Shah who called him to Agra. Alai's eloquence impressed Islam Shah and a number of nobles of his court felt attracted towards the new

sect. Shaikh Alai defeated the *'ulama* also in a discussion at the court and consequently they planned to retaliate upon him. Makhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri, the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and *Sadr-us Sudur*, prevailed upon the Sultan to banish Shaikh 'Alai. 'Alai and his devoted band of followers obeyed the orders and left for the Deccan. At Handia, on the bank of Narbada, which was the frontier of Islam Shah's empire, Shaikh 'Alai won over to his viewpoint Bahar Khan Azam Humayun and half of his army. When Islam Shah received this report he cancelled the orders of banishment and called back Shaikh 'Alai.

Some time after this, Islam Shah was called upon to suppress a revolt of the Niyazi Afghans in the Punjab. When he reached Bayana, Makhdum-ul Mulk drew his attention to Abdullah Niyazi who had great influence over the Niyazi Afghans and could be instrumental in dealing with the rebels of the Punjab. Abdullah Niyazi, however, incurred the displeasure of the Sultan by refusing to follow the court etiquette and Islam Shah ordered him to be flogged. He watched on horse back for an hour the execution of punishment and left only when he thought that Mian Abdullah Niyazi was dead. He, however, survived and lived during the reign of Akbar.

Islam Shah asked Shaikh 'Alai to recant from his views but he declined. Islam Shah ordered him to be whipped. Shaik 'Alai had a wound in his neck which broke open and he fainted and died. His death meant the victory of the orthodox *ulama* and the persecution of the Mahda vis was intensified.

Shaikh Mubarak who subscribed to the Mahdavi ideology had also to suffer. In the very first discussion of the *'ulama* with Shaikh Alai, Mubarak supported the latter and became known as a supporter of heresy.[1] He was deprived of his grants of lands and was made to flee from pillar to post to save his life. For many years he was under the shadow of terror and panic created by the activities of the *ulama*. These incidents and events of his life must have exercised great influence and provoked strong reactions in the mind of Abul Fazl.

A very significant mystic order of the period which helped in the growth of liberal ideas and particularly attracted Humayun was the Shattari silsilah.

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1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, I, p. 402, Badaoni calls him a Mahdavi in his *Najat-ur Rashid*, (MS).

The Shattari silsilah was introduced in India by Shah Abdullah Shattari who died at Mandu in 1485. The word *shattari* is derived from the Arabic root *shatr* which means 'to move in a certain direction'. *Shattar* therefore would mean "one who moves quickly". The Shattaris considered this as a spiritual movement and believed that they were quicker in their spiritual progress and could achieve *ma'rifat*(gnosis) more easily than the other spiritual orders. The author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar* quotes *Lata'if-i Ghaibiya* of Shah Abdullah in which it is remarked that there are three different methods of spiritual training—that of *Akhyar, Abrar* and *Shattar*. The last is the shortest and the quickest and hence it is called *Suluk-i Shattari*.

Shah Abdullah Shattari had widely travelled in Muslim lands. On reaching India he undertook a tour of the whole country and met many important saints, like Shaikh Husamuddin Manikpuri and Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir. Shah Abdullah had certain unique methods of work. He used to put on royal dress while his followers wore military uniform. Banners and drums were also carried by him. Wherever he went he made an announcement: "Is there any one who wishes to be shown the way to God?"

Among the spiritual descendants of Shaikh Abdullah, reference may be made to Shaikh Buddhan and Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus. Shaikh Buddhan was the spiritual teacher of Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi, the famous author of *Waqi'at-i Mushtaqi*.[1]

Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus was well-versed in Hindu mystic concepts and Tantric ideas. He had spent twelve years on the lower slopes of the hills of Chunar practising the most severe austerities and subsisting on the leaves of trees.[2] He translated *Amritkund* into Persian under the title *Bahr-ul-Hayat* and presented Hindu mystic ideas in the garb of Muslim mystic terminology. The *Bahr-ul-Hayat* is considered by some as a 'precursor of the *Majma-ul-Bahrain* of Dara Shukoh'.[3] Saiyid Muhammd's knowledge of Hindu mystic thought was very extensive. He had intimate relations with the Hindus. His hobby was keeping bulls and cows.

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1. *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 195.
2. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. 3, p. 4-5.
3. *Medieval India Quarterly*, Oct. 1950, Prof. K.A. Nizami's article: *"The Shattari saints and their attitude towards the state"*, p. 59.

The Shattaris believed in pantheism and their entire mystic organization was built up on this basic concept. They laid great emphasis upon the "interiorization of religious rites."

Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus and his brother Shaikh Bahlul were on the best of terms with Humayun. Jahangir writes about him:

« جنت آشیانی رابه شیخ مذکور رابطه محبت وحسن عقیدت بر وجه کمال بوده »-[1]

(Humayun had great affection for him and the most perfect devotion in him)

The author of *Iqbal Namah* says that Shaikh Bahlul was one of the closest associates (از مصاحبان روحانی) of Humayun,[2] whose respect for him increased his prestige and many scholars of the court, like Maulana Jamaluddin and Maulana Muhammad Ali Farghuli joined his order.[3] Thus Shattari attitude and ideology was one of the significant trends at the Mughal court at Deihi during the time of Humayun.

The Shattaris had developed their teaachings on the basis of what they called « طریق دعوت اسما » · According to this they believed that the names of God, when recited in some specific number produced some specific result, which had some relation with the movement of the heavenly bodies also. Thus the Shattaris wedded their mystic ideas to astronomincal concepts. Humayun's fascination for the Shattari order was perhaps due to this.

Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus had a hard time during the Sur interregnum. He however came to Agra in 1558 and Akbar received him with honour.[4] Akbar's respect for Saiyid Muhammad Ghaus excited the jealousy of Shaikh Gadai and he used his influence to undermine the position of the Shaikh.[5] Shaikh Gadai showed his *risala*, *Risala-i-Ma'rajiya*, in which he had described some of his mystic experiences,

1. *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, Text, p. 258.
2. *Iqbal Namah*, Newal Kishore edition, Vol. I, p. 149.
3. *Gulzar-i Abrar*, Rotograph.
4. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p. 135.
5. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. 2, p. 34.

to Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan and charged him of claiming a higher spiritual status than the Prophet.[1]

Though the Shattari silsilah could not gain any particular importance during the time of Akbar, its impact on contemporary religious thought cannot be denied.

Another very important current of religious thought, which considerably influenced the mind of Shaikh Mubarak and his son Abul Fazl, was the Nuqtawi movement.

The foundar of the Nuqtawi movement was Mahmud Pasikhani Gilani. After wide travels he reached Astarabad and began to preach his new religion in 800 A.H./1397 A.D. He wrote more than a dozen books and one thousand brochures in elucidation of his religious ideas.[2] He believed that Islam came to an end in Arabia; and that hts own religion was for the people of 'Ajam. The author of *Ma'asir-ul Umara* says that the followers of Mahmud believed in the following ideas:

1. When the body of the Prophet Muhammad attained perfection ، کامل تر ، it led to the creation of Mahmud out of it.
2. Dust is the origin and the starting point (نقطه) of human life.
3. Transmigration of souls in a valid concept.
4. That Mahmud was a Mahdi.[3]

Iskandar Munshi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Alam-Arai-'Abbasi* refers to the following concepts of the Nuqtawis which led to criticism by the orthodox sections:

1. That the creation is eternal (قدیم)
2. That there will be no resurrection of bodies and no Doomsday.
3. That worldly honour and disgrace which is the necessary result of human action is the real Paradise and Hell.[4]

The Nuqtawis were severely punished on account of their heretical

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1. *Iqbal Namah*, Vol. 2, p. 149; *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p.135.
2. *Nuqtawiyan-ya-Pasikhaniyan*, Dr Sadiq Kiya, pp. 12-73, 126.
3. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 285, under the account of Mir Sharif Amuli.
4. *Tarikh-i-Alam-'Arai-Abbasi*, Vol. II, p. 326.

views by Shah Abbas of Iran and large number of Nuqtawi poets and scholars turn to India to pass their time in the peaceful atmosphere of Akbar's court. Mir Tashbihi Kashi came to India from Kashan and wrote a *risala* for Abul Fazl in which he explained the principles of the Nuqtawi sect.[1] Badaoni writes about him: "He has persuaded Shaikh Abul Fazl that he is an infallible spiritual guide and by his means has been enabled to present to the *Khalifa* of the age an ode, the object of which was to ask the emperor why he did not devote himself to the overthrowing of the self styled orthodox, so that the truth might be established.[2]"

Once, Tashbihi gave a *risala* to Abdul Qadir Badaoni in the presence of Abul Fazl, the preface of which contained the following:

« یا الله المحمود فی کل فعاله استعین بنفسك الذی لااله الاهو ....

سوال- خلق که گفته شود کدام است-؟

جواب- خلق که گفة میشود الله-

(O God, who are praise worthy (Mahmud) in all Thy doings,
I call upon Thee for Hell, On Thee of whom it is said, 'There is no God but "He"

Question—What is that which is called 'nature' ?

Answer —'That which is called nature is God.'[3]

There were others like Waqui Nishapuri,[4] Hakim Ibadullah Kashani and Abdul Ghani Yazdi who came and settled at the court of Akbar and propagated Nuqtawi ideas.

It appears that these persecuted Nuqtawi scholars succeeded in winning over the sympathies of Akbar and Abul Fazl and the letter which Akbar wrote to Shah Abbas Safawi was largely inspired by his sympathy for the Nuqtawis.[5]

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1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 205
2. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 205.
3. *Muntahkab-ut Tawarikh*, Text, III, pp. 205-206 Eng. Tr. W. Haig, Vol. III, p. 285.
4. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p, 379.
5. See *Appendix 'A'*

All these Indian and Iranian trends of thought had exercised some influence, direct or indirect, on the mind of Mubarak and his sons, Abul Fazl and Faizi.

Abul Fazl says about his father that "he had received from the great teacher (God) every kind of knowledge. He removed the veil of formal science from over spiritual beauty, and cultivated seclusion in the midst of society. Inspite of his profound insight he did not see his own perception and devotion (i.e. was not conscious of them) and did not bring his goods to market. He did not sell ecstacy (*Halat*) and knew no finesse (*Hilat*)".[1]

According to Badaoni also he was an ardent enquirer after truth and was never contented in his quest of knowledge. Despite his extensive knowledge of traditional faith, he tried to ascertain the truth from every religion. Shias, Mahdavis, Christians, Parsis, Hindus and Jains who met him were always impressed by his sympathetic attitude towards various religions. "Some evil minded people", Abul Fazl informs us, "reviled him for the Shia tendencies which they presumed he held, not understanding that knowledge is one thing and profession another".[2]

The orthodox group was always dissatisfied with Mubarak and accused him of changing his opinion and conversing with men according to their understanding.[3] He always gave a most liberal interpretation to the *shariat*' and was convinced 'that first as there were 'interpolation in the holy books of the Hindus, so there were in the books of Islam; hence it was impossible to trust either.'[4]

Badaoni did not see eye to eye with Mubarak and his son Abul Fazl but it appears from his estimate that he had a very high opinion of Shaikh Mubarak. In fact it was with great reluctance that Badaoni criticised him and this criticism was due to his bitterness towards his son Abul Fazl. He clearly says that the curses which people hurled at Mubarak were due to the evil acts of his son.[5]

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1. *Akbar Namah*, III, p. 643; Bev. III, p. 958.
2. *Ai'n-i Akbari*, II, p, 265; Jarrett, III, 428.
3. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 74; Haig, p. 119.
4. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, p. 312.
5. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol.III. p. 75.

Badaoni's account of Mubarak is very revealing and deserves to be quoted in some detail. He says: "He was one of the great sufis of the age and was distinguished among the men of his time and his contemporaries for his piety, devotion and trust in God. In early life he observed many austerities and strove much in the way of holiness, and was so zealous in enforcing the commands and prohibitions of the holy law that if anybody was present while he was giving religious instruction wearing a golden ring, or silk clothing, or red hose, or red or yellow garments, he at once made him remove them, and if anyone appeared with long breeches, descending below the heel, he immediately had them torn to the proper length. If, while walking through the streets, he heard the noise of any singing he would start violently. In his zeal for God he was so devoted to singing that he was scarcely for a moment of the day at ease without being employed in listening to the chanting of hymns, psalms, mystic melodies, and music. In short he followed many and various rules of life. For sometime during the reigns of the Afghan emperors he used to keep company with Shaikh Alai, and in the beginning of the Emperor's reign, when the Naqshbandi order were in great esteem, he adopted himself to their rule, and for some time he was attached to the Hamadani Shaikhs, and at last when the 'Iraqis were in great favour at court he spoke as one of their religion.

"Converse with men according to their understanding," was his practice, and so he continued to do. He was always employed in giving religious instruction, and was well-versed in poetry, enigmas, and in all other arts and branches of learning, but especially in the theology of the sufis, and, unlike most other learned men of India, he practised their system thoroughly. He also had Shatibi by heart, and used to give instruction in the law of inheritance. He also had by heart the glorious *Qur'an* according to each of the ten methods of reading it.

He never went to the houses of nobles, but was a very pleasant companion, and had a great stock of wonderful anecdotes.[1]

Shaikh Mubarak was a man of convictions and could suffer for them. He helped the Mahdavis when influential men like Mir Rafiuddin Safawi and Shaikh Budh could not defend them. He defended the Shias when the authority of Makhdum-ul Mulk and Abdun Nabi was

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1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. Tr. W. Haig, Vol. III, pp. 118-119.

at its height. His contribution towards the preparation of *Mahzar*, which paved the way for Akbar to act more liberally, was not inconsiderable. In fact he was a very dynamic figure of his age and exercised appreciable influence on the religious thought and trends of the period. Abul Fazl was Mubarak's son and successor in his outlook and character.

Abul Fazl was born on Moharram 6, 958/ January 14, 1551 A.D. He was endowed with a prodigious memory. Even at the age of a little over one year he spoke fluently. His education began with Arabic.[1] At the age of five, he could both read and write without any difficulty. Thereafter his father started teaching him a little of every branch of the traditional sciences (*manqulat*), but his brilliant mind could not appreciate prolonged adherence to conventional learning. He sank in a state of mental depression.[2] A friend induced him to resume his studies and his perplexed mind was set at rest.

Shaikh Mubarak then made him commit to memory the essential elements of every branch of learning. He often starved for many days but occupied himself in studies. At that early age, as he himself says, he had started criticising the views of earlier writers.[3]

One very remarkable incident of his intelligence has been mentioned by him. He says: "In my early years of study, the dictionary of Isfahani, more than half of which had been eaten by white ants, came under my observation, the public being in despair at profitting by it, I removed the parts that had been eaten and joined blank paper to the rest. In the serene hours of morning, with a little reflection, I discovered the beginning and the end of each fragment and conjecturally penned a draft text. In the meanwhile the entire work was discovered and when both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning; and in three or four others (differing) in citations but approximate in sense. All were astounded."[4]

At the age of fifteen, he was well-acquainted with both the rational

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1. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p. 376; Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 545.
2. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 277; Jarrett, III, p. 443.
3. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 277; Jarrett, III, p. 444.
4. *A'in-i Akbari*, Blochmann Vol. I, p. XXXIV.

and the traditional sciences *(ma'qulat* and *manqulat)*.[1] Abul Fazl's education, it may be pointed out, was very extensive and helped him to develop a critical outlook. He says: "By the favour of the fount of lofty ideas (his father) the secrets of the platonists, the wide treasures of the Sufis, and the wonderous observations of peripatetics were acquired by me.[2]" He then spent ten years more in discussions and dialogues.[3]

Thus we see that he could not remain satisfied with the Islamic Philosophy and other branches of learning which a teacher like Shaikh Mubarak could teach him. The pursuit of learning had grown into a passion with him. Throughout his life, he eagerly and sincerely yearned to study the problems of different religions, and did not rely upon any preconceived notions and researches.

The persecutions which Shaikh Mubarak had to suffer for his Mahdavi leanings at the hands of the court *ulama*, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his young mind. He developed hatred of intolerance and began to long for a life of intellectual freedom. But he could satisfy his intellectual curiosity by unusual exertions in the pursuit of knowledge. Critical and extensive study at this stage of his life stood him in good stead when during the religious discussions at the court of Akbar he could take up the challenge of the *ulama* and defeat them on their own ground.

By the fourteenth year of Akbar's reign (1569-70) the fame of Mubarak's lectures had spread far and wide and scholars were proud of sitting at his feet. His liberal views, and his blunt vindication of the Mahdavis and the Shias, however, antagonized the *ulama*. Once Abul Fazl's rash speech in the presence of *ulama* created a very difficult situation for Shaikh Mubarak. Abul Fazl writes: "The conceit of learning and exuberant youth possessed me. I had never before set forth outside the college to be present at any public function but his (probably Makhdum-ul Mulk's) words drove me to open my lips and I spoke so much to the point that he was ashamed and the spectators were amazed.[4]" Conspiracies were hatched against Mubarak and his son

1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Blochmann Vol. I, p. XXXIV.
2. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, 387; Beveridge II, p. 566.
3. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. III, 84; Beveridge III, pp. 116-117; *Insha*, III.
4. *A'in-i Akbari*, II, p. 266; Jarrett, III, p. 430.

whom the *ulama* had by now, found to be invincible debators. The only course open for them was to terrorize and drive him out of Agra. Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Makhdum-ul Mulk and other learned men at the court represented to the Emperor "that Shaikh Mubarak, in as far as he pretended to be a Mahdavi, belonged to the class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others to damnation."[1] An order was accordingly issued from the imperial court that, "affairs of the state were not to be transacted without consultation with them (*ulama*); that this was a question of faith and religion the issue of which lay entirely in the *ulama's* hand, that the fugitive should be summoned before the judicial tribunal and whatever the illustrious law decided and the heads of the government determined should be carried out."[2]

Later on the *ulama* planned to get Mubarak and Abul Fazl murdered. Abul Fazl has given pathetic details of the exile of his family and the account of their despondency, and tribulations of their friends. Badaoni tells us that Shaikh Mubarak at first took refuge with Salim Chishti at Fatehpur who was then at the hieght of his fame and requested him to intercede for him. But subseqnently he had to leave him also.

Thus Mubarak and his son Abul Fazl had to seek asylum from door to door but could not find any refuge anywhere. At last they were able to find a safe retreat and lived there for sometime. Mubarak sent letters to his friends and Faizi went to Fatehpur to the Court.[3] One day a senior noble of Akbar's Court decided to support Mubarak and submited to the Emperor: "Has the world come to an end or is the Day of Resurrection at hand that in his Court malicious fanatics have their way and good men are confounded ?" Akbar summoned Mubarak the next day in an assembly of the *ulama.* Faizi, however, thought that if Mubarak confronted the *ulama* at the Court his life would become more miserable. He went back to his father and persuaded him to set out again on their journey without informing his host.[4] Again Mubarak roamed from place to place and from door to door in search of asylum. Some friends of this fugitive family eventually began to impress upon

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1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, II, p. 199; Lowe, p. 201.
2. *A'in-i Akbari*, II, p. 269; Jarrett, III, p. 433; *Insha*, III, p. 331.
3. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 272, Jarret, Vol. III, p. 437, *Insha*, Vol. III, p. 335.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 272-273, Jarrett Vol. III, p. 437, *Insha*, Vol. III, P. 336.

the Emperor the piety and resignation of Shaikh Mubarak, Akbar summoned him again to the Court. With Mubarak's arrival at the Court this time, the circumstances of his life began to change. "At once the hornet's nest of the ungrateful was quiet, and the disturbed world was at peace. The course of instruction and quite sanctuary of holy recollection were established as before."[1]

According to Badaoni, it was Mirza Aziz Koka who interceded with the Emperor and told him about the learning of Shaikh Mubarak and the capabilities of his two sons. He further told the Emperor that he himself did not really see why the Shaikh was being persecuted so much.[2]

Shaikh Mubarak entered the Court but Abul Fazl was still out of it. He had developed at this time an ascetic attitude. There was a conflict in his mind: his inner desire was to lead a life of an ascetic, while his father was trying to establish his reputation at the Court. Abul Fazl at first resisted the advice of his father and brother to join the Court but ultimately decided to present himself before the Emperor. He wrote a commentary on the verses of the Quran relating *Arsh* (throne) and presented it to Akbar. It was appreciated by the emperor as well as by the scholars. Abul Fazl thus describes the circumstances in which he reached the Court: "I was sick of the learned of my own land, my brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the Court, hoping that I would find in the Emperor a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth."[3]

The Bengal rebellion kept Akbar occupied for sometime. Faizi went wth the Emperor on his eastern expedition but Abul Fazl could not go because he had not finally made up his mind about imperial service.

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1. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 274, Jarrett Vol. III, p. 440.
2. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 199.
3. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. III, p. 119.

The Emperor, however, did not forget Abul Fazl. Faizi represented that he had not joined the army on its march to Bengal owing to the lack of provision for the journey.[1] On Akbar's return to Fatehpur on June 20, 1572. Abul Fazl also reached there. There was none amongst the nobles to take him to the court while he on his part did not want to solicit the favour of anybody. One day he happened to go to the chief mosque and suddenly the Emperor also appeared there and summoned him. Abul Fazl presented himself at the court and presented his commentary on *'Sura-i-Fatiha'* (the Chapter on victory in the Quran) to the Emperor. This was a very appropriate present as the Emperor had just won a victory over Da'ud of Bengal. This commentary also was appreciated by the Emperor and the scholars. Badaoni says that some people thought that the commentary was written by Mubarak.[2]

Abul Fazl's talent found an occasion for full display at the *Ibadat Khanah*. The *Ibadat Khanah* was constructed at the order of Akbar in 1575. Badaoni has very graphically described the circumstances which led to its construction. "For many years previously the Emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day, everything turned out well, and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty has thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of his reverence (the late) Mu'in (Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti), and passed much of his time in discussing the Word of God and the word of the Prophet. Questions of Sufism, scientific discussions, enquiries into philosophy and Law, were the order of the day. His Majesty spent whole nights in praising God; he continually occupied himself in pronouncing Yāhuw, and Yāhādī, in which he was well-versed. His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the True Giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn. When he heard that Sulaiman, governor of Bengal, used every night to offer the prayers in the company of some

1. *Akbar Namah*, Vol III, p. 144, Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 161.
2. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 201.

150 persons consisting of renowned Shaikhs and *ulama*, and used to remain in their society till morning listening to commentaries and exhortations, and then, after offering up the morning prayers, would occupy himself in state-business, and the affairs of the army and of his subjects; and that he had his appointed time for everything and never broke through his good rule."[1]

Abul Fazl found that the ulama relied exclusively on authority and tradition in their discussions.[2] He, therefore, adopted the Mutazilite method of rationalistic interpretation. The *ulama* tried to silence him by the authority and prestige which they enjoyed at the Court. Abul Fazl was, however, determined to meet the situation with caution and confidence. Badaoni writes about his method of work in the Ibadat Khanah in the following words: "He lighted up the lamp of Sabbahi, illustrating thereby the story of the man, who because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight, and representing himselfas opposed to all sects, tide the girdle of infallibility around his waist, according to the saying: "He who continually takes the offensive, does not commit himself as to his true opinions."[3] Abul Fazl's method was to demand proofs about all the orthodox beliefs and dogmas by putting forward a number of disarming negatives. Perhaps very often he believed in the dogmas which he challenged. It was simply to upset the *ulama* that he put awkward questions to them. One day Badaoni asked him: "For which of these notorious heresies, have you yourself the greatest inclination?" Abul Fazl replied: "I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport."[4]

Abul Fazl, however, behaved with utmost caution in his discussions at the Ibadat Khanah. He did not start as a lonely fighter in the arena. He played upon the mutual rivalries and tensions of the different groups of the *ulama*. He joined hands with Haji Ibrahim and made Makhdum-ul Mulk the target of his criticism. His previous fatwas were subjected to carping criticism and even his character became the subject of discussion. His tricks with the *Shari'at* in evading the payment of *zakat* by

1. *Mantakhab-ut-Tawrikh*, Vol. II, p. 203-4.
2. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p. 389.
3. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 198; Lowe Vol. II, p. 201.
4. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 162; Lowe Vcl. II p. 270.

transferring his property towards the end of the year to his wife and then getting it retransferred to himself completely paralysed his position at the court. It was proved that he had been unfair with holy and deserving men especially those of the Punjab.[1]

The downfall of Abdun Nabi similarly began inevitable. The Emperor wanted legal justification for his innumerable wives. Abul Fazl so dragged him into a controversy that he incurred the displeasure of the Emperor. Abul Fazl placed before the Emperor several traditions regarding the *Muta'* marriages which, according to Badaoni, were collected by his father. Thus ground was prepared for the downfall of Abdun Nabi.

In no time the position of the orthodox ulama was made untenable at the *Ibadat-Khanah*. Abul Fazl's position and prestige began to increase. Some ulama sent a private message to him asking why he was so opposed to them. Abul Fazl replied, "What strange thing is this ? I spread the carpet of right thinking and well-wishing towards men. Why do men lie in ambush against me."[2] Abul Fazl however ignored them with contempt. "How this slumberous-witted faction wishes to conciliate me," Abul Fazl remarked.[3]

It was at the Ibadat-Khanah that Abul Fazl came into contact with Hindu thinkers and philosophers who considerably influenced his thought. He particularly refers to Madhu Sarsuti, Madhu Sudhan, Narayan Asram, Hariji Sur, Damodar Bhat, Ram Tirath, Narsingh, Premindar and Adit. He has placed these scholars in the same rank as Shaikh Mubarak[4]—a fact which shows his deep reverence for them.

At Ibadat Khanah Abul Fazl also came into close contact with Zoroastrians. According to Badaoni, Akbar put under his charge the fire at the court and ordered him to take care that it was never extinguished night and day.[5]

Abul Fazl also came into contact with the Jesuit mission. Monserrate says that they were advised by the Emperor to consult Abul

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1. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 204; Lowe, Vol. II. p. 206.
2. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p. 389; Beveridge, Vol.II, p. 569.
3. *Akbar Namah*, Vol, II, p. 390; Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 570.
4. *A'in-i- Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 537-538.,
5. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 261; Lowe, Vol. II, pp. 268-269.

Fazl and "confide their troubles to him as they would to himself."[1] The Jesuit Father felt that they could be more effective at the court if they learnt the Persian language. Abul Fazl was ordered to teach Persian to Rudolf.[2] Abul Fazl often helped the Jesuit Fathers in their debates with the ulama and this made them think that Abul Fazl had hostility towards Islam.[3] It is said that before any public discussion the Jesuit Fathers used to place their views before Abul Fazl so that he could help them in further strengthening their argument. On one occasion the Fathers were so impressed by his support that they thought that he had become a Christian.[4]

Likewise Abul Fazl developed friendship with the Jains. Hira Vijaya was his guest after his arrival at Fatehpur till such time as he could meet the Emperor.[5]

The debates and discussions at the Ibadat Khanah created an atmosphere which was alien to the spirit of Akbar. Once Shaikh Mubarak came to Fatehpur to offer felicitations to the Emperor. Akbar who was disgusted with the role of ulama asked his opinion in the matter. Mubarak submitted: "Your Majesty is the Imam and Mujtahid of the age. What need have you of these ulama for assistance in issuing your commands, whether religious or secular. They have no lot or part in true knowledge, beyond a groundless reputation there for." Akbar said: "Since you are my teacher why do you not free me from dependence on these Mullas ?"[6] After this Mubarak's mind began to work on the lines which ultimately led him to the preparation of *Mahzar*.

Perhaps it was to prepare the ground for the promulgation of the *Mahzar* that Akbar was advised to lead the congregational prayer. A *Khutba* was prepared by Faizi on the First Friday of Jamadi I, 987 A.H./June 26, 1579. Badaoni says that Akbar stammered and trembled and could hardly read three verses of the poem composed by Faizi. He quickly came down from the pulpit and asked the Imam, Hafiz

1. *Commentary*, p. 49.
2. *Commentary*, p. 54-55.
3. *Commentary*, p. 51.
4. *Commentary*, p. 56-57.
5. *Akbar The Great Mughal*, Smith, p. 167.
6. *Muntakhab-ūt-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 33; Haig Vol. III, p. 131.

Muhammad Amin to lead the prayers.

After discussions with the ulama Mubarak prevailed upon them to sign a joint declaration declaring the Emperor as the *Mujtahid.* The signatories to this decument included Makhdumul Mulk, Qazi Khan Badakhshi, Qazi Jalaluddin Multani, Sadr-i-Jahan Mufti and Shaikh Mubarak. It is not necessary for our purposes here to go into the details of the *Mahzar* and its legal and diplomatic implications.[1] It is significant, however, that Abul Fazl does not give the text of the document and does not highlight the role of Mubarak in the preparation of this document.

1. For a detailed study of the *Mahzar* see Prof. S. Nurul Hasan's article, *Tho Mahzar of Akbar's Reign*, Journal of U.P. Historical Society, Vol. XVI

II

SOCIAL OUTLOOK

Abul Fazl's social outlook can be explained with reference to three fundamental postulates:

1. All men constitute one brotherhood.
2. There is a basic cultural identity between the Hindus and the Muslims.
3. Religious differences should not disrupt the basic homogenity of society.

Abul Fazl believed that pride in genealogy was nothing short of vain boastfulness. He remarks in *A'in-i Akbari*: "Since to vaunt of lineage is to traffic from empty-handedness with the bones of one's ancestors and to bring the wares of ignorance to market, and is to be foolishly vain of the merits of others while blind to one's own defects. I was unwilling to touch the subjects or indulge in such idle vapouring. In this demon-haunted wilderness, to be linked by any claim deters advance and the irrigation of the genealogy of the outer world is of no profit to the interior spirit."[1]

Developing the same theme, he exposes the hollowness of distinction between the high and the low. All men are sons of Adam, their primitive father, he says.[2]

But this does not mean that Abul Fazl believed in a classless society. He adhered to its traditional classification as found in Persian classics. He seems to have been particularly impressed by the views of Jalal-uddin Dawwani (ob. 908/1502), the famous author of *Akhlaq-i Jalali*.[3]

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1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. III, Jarrett, p. 478.
2. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. III, Jarrett, p. 479.
3. The full title of the books is لوامع الا شراق فی مکارم الاخلاق It is divided into an introduction and the following three books, called لامه and sub-divided into chapters لمه (1) Ethics proper, در تہزیب اخلاق (ii) Government of the family در تدبیر منزل (iii) Government of the city در تدبیر مدن

The first point to be considered in this respect is the basis of classification. Plato divided men as those belonging to the category of gold, silver and iron. Jalaluddin Dawwani based his classification on the four elements or humours in human body. "As the equipoise of bodily temperament is effected," writes Dawwani, "by intermixture and correspondence of four elements the equipoise of political temperament is to be sought for in the correspondence of four classes. Further in likemanner as in the composite organisation the passing of any element beyond its proper measure, occasions the loss of equipoise and is followed by dissolution and ruin, so in the body politic, no less the prevalance of any class over the three others overturns the adjustment and dissolves the junction."[1] This classification is based on the analogy borrowed from the Unani Medical Science.

Abul Fazl accepts Dawwani's basis of classification. Plato had divided society into (1) the guardians or the warriors, (2) the rulers or the official class and (2) the agriculturists, traders and industrial workers. It is obvious both from Dawwani's list and that of Abul Fazl that they have subdivided the third class of Plato into two i.e. (1) artificers and merchants, (2) husbandsmen and labourers.

Inspired by these ideas Abul Fazl gives the following classification of society:

1. *The warriors* or men of the sword are given second place in Dawwani's list but Abul Fazl gives them the first place. They are, he says, like in the body politic. Their flames directed by understanding, consume the straw and rubbish of rebellion and strife, but kindle also the lamp of rest in this world of disturbances.
2. *The learned*, such as the philosophers, the physicians, the scholars of arithmetic, the geometricians, the astronomers, who resemble water. Dawwani places them on the top in his list, but Abul Fazl assigns the second place to them. 'From their pen and their wisdom, a river rises in the draught of the world; and the garden of the creation receives from their irrigating powers a peculiar freshness.'
3. *The artificers and merchants*, who hold the place of air. From

1. *Akhlaq-i Jalali*, p. 138; W.F. Thompson's translation, *Practical Philosophy o, the Muhammeden People*, London 1839, p. 388.

their labours and travels, God's gifts become universal, and th breeze of contentment nourishes the tree of life.

4. *The husbandsmen and labourers*, who may be compared to earth. E their exertions, the staple of life is brought to perfection and strer gth and happiness flows from their work. Dawwani and Abı Fazl both gives them the fourth place in their classification. Bot Dawwani and Abul Fazl believed that it was obligatory for king to put each of these in its proper place, and by unitin personal ability with due respect, for others, to cause th world flourish."[1]

Abul Fazl attached great importance to the role of nobles in the bod politic. He laid great emphasis on their loyalty to the King and aske the ruler also to look after their welfare.

In this classification there is an implied suggestion of superiority c the higher classes but Abul Fazl's deep sense of humanism and h concept of justice prevented this feeling from developing into a discı ssion between *sharif* and *razil* as one finds in the *Fatawa-i Jahandaı* of Ziauddin Barani.

Abul Fazl considered justice to be the main prop of royal powei "When God bestows sovereignty upon a choice one", writes Abul Faz "he exalts him with far-seeing reason, wide forbearance and the price less jewel of justice, so that he might place familiar friends and stran gers in the same balance".[2] At another place Abul Fazl remarks that i was justice which was responsible for the peace and prosperity of th realm.[3]

In a letter to Khan-i Khanan, Abul Fazl says that the prosperity c Akbar's reign rested on the fifth principle adopted by the Emperor-- which was to do justice to the people.[4]

Abul Fazl's concept of 'Peace with all' also emanated from h sense of justice. He used to say that there could be only two possibl relations with the whole creation: one was that of love and the othe that of peace.

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1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. I. Blochmann, p. 4.
2. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. II, p. 173, Bev. Vol. II, p. 268.
3. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. *III*, p. 463
4. *Insha*, Vol. *II*, p. 100

Justice needed a careful assessment of the social tensions so that the causes of friction are reduced to the minimum.

In a chapter on the "Ethnography of Hindustan"[1] Abul Fazl discusses the various causes of misunderstanding and quarrels between the different religions in India. According to him there were seven causes of the social tension.

First, the diversity of tongues and the misapprehension of mutual purposes, and thus the alloy of ill-will is introduced and the dust of discord arises.

'*Secondly*, the distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities who thus are unable to meet, and if chance should bring them together, the need of an interpreter would preclude any practical result. An accomplished linguist capable of mastering the intricacies of science and the abstruse speculations of philosophy among various nations and competent to give them luminous and efficient expression, is very rare. Even at the present time, when through His Majesty's patronage of learing and his appreciation of merit, the crudite of all countries are assembled, and apply themselves with united effort in the pursuit of truth, so proficient a person is not to be found. Such as thirst after the sweet waters of wisdom and who leaving their native land undertake the wanderings of travel and with diligent assiduity employ their energies in the acquisition of various languages, are indeed uncommon. It needs a seeker such as Anushirwan, who amidst the pomp of empire should yet search for the jewel of wisdom, and a minister like Buzurjmihr, void of envy, as his counsellor, and both king and minister combined, to discover a coadjutor so unique and one so upright and intelligent as the physician Barzawaih, and then to send him with abundant means disguised as a merchant to Hindustan in order that with this capital stock-in-trade he might obtain the interest of acquired wisdom; and again this sagacious personage, making no distinction between the absence or presence of his employers, must be diligent in his inquiries and succeed in the accomplishment of his desire through the frankness of his demeanour and his largesse of gold. Or the occasion would demand an indefatigable and lofty intellect like that of Tumtum the Indian, who to receive the instruction of the divine philosopher Plato, passed from Hindustan in Greece

1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. III, Jarrett and Sarkar, pp. 3-9.

and freighting his caravans with the requisites of travel, set himself to face the dangers of seas and deserts, and with the medicinal simples of wisdom perfected his spiritual health and the harmonious balance of his soul. Or a powerful mind and vigorous body such as Abu Maashar of Balkh, enamoured of wisdom, who holding exile and his native country and toil and ease undissociated, travelled into India from Khorasan and garnered a store of knowledge at Benaras and carried it as a gift of? price to the learned of his own land.

'*Thirdly*, the absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratification, for men regard the absence of beauty in an object as placing it beyond the pale of existence and therefore not to be thought of as worth acquisition or productive of enjoyment. Their fastidiousness is averse from listening to accounts of foreign people even by way of apologue. And forasmuch as their moral obliquity refuses to lend an ear and the glitter of this deceptive world lets fall a veil of ignorance before their eyes. What must be their state and how may grace illumine for them the lamp of guidance?

'*Fourthly*, indolence. Men account what is ready to hand as more precious then the chance of future possession and prefer ease to exertion. They will not undertake the trouble of profound investigation, and content with a superficial view, will not move a span's length to acquire a deeper insight. He alone is the true promoter of wisdom who, setting before his resolve the investigation of the concealed beauties of meaning, under the guidance of assiduous research and undaunted desire, plants his foot in the dread wilds of research, and reaches the goal of his ambition undismayed by countless labours, sustaining the burden of the road by the force of capacity on the shoulders of his ever resolute will.

'*Fifthly*, the blowing of the chill blast of inflexible custom and the low flicker of the lamp of wisdom. From immemorial time the exercise of inquiry has been restricted, and questioning and investigation have been regarded as precursors of infidelity. Whatever has been received from father, director, kindred, friend or neighbour, is considered as a deposit under Divine sanction and a malcontent is reproached with impiety or irreligion. 'Although the few among the intellgent of their generation admit the imbecility of this procedure in others, yet will they not stir one step in a practical direction themselves.

'*Sixthly*, the uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and the storms

persecution have stayed the few earnest inquirers from uniting to discuss their individual tenets and from meeting in friendly assemblies in a spirit of sympathy, and from distinguishing commonalty of bond from vital estrangement, under the guidance of impartiality, in order that error may be severed from truth and the why and the wherefore weighed in the scales of sound judgement. Even just monarchs, unconscious of their *obligations, have herein neglected them. Arrogance and self interest* have intervened and occasions of intercourse have been marred by perplexities. Some have taken refuge in silence; others have found evasion in obscurity of language, 'while others again have extricted themselves by time serving utterances. If temporal rulers had interested themselves in this matter and assuaged the apprehensions of men, assuredly many enlightened persons would have delivered their real sentiments with calmness of mind and freedom of expression. Through the apathy of princes, each sect is bigoted to its own creed and dissensions have waxed high. Each one regarding his own persuasion as alone true, has set himself to the persecution of other worshippers of God, and the shedding of blood and the ruining of reputation have become symbols of religious orthodoxy. Where the eyes of the mind possessed of true vision, each individual would withdraw from this indiscriminating turmoil and attend rather to his own solicitudes than interfere in the concerns of others. Amidst such unseemly discord, main purposes are set aside and arguments disregarded. If the doctrine of an enemy be in itself good, why should hands be stained in the blood of its professors? And even were it otherwise, the sufferer from the malady of folly deserves commiseration, not hostility and the shedding of his blood.

Seventhly, the prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude. Such as these do much harm and truths are obscured through unrecognition.

These seven observations of Abul Fazl, when put into their proper social framework, reveal his attitude towards society and the evils that hinder its growth on sound lines.

Abul Fazl's attempt to remove social tensions in India developed in him an attitude which emphasised the basic cultural indentity between the Hindus and the Muslims. He surveys the history of the period in its Indian context and observes the principle of unity and continuity in his treatment of Indian history. He sincerely believed that without an

understanding of Hindu philosophy and religion, learning and literature, customs and ceremonials, it was not possible to understand the main currents of political and cultural developments in India. In his preface to the *Mahabharat* he has drawn attention to the social necessity of studying the religious thought and tenets of other cults and creeds. It was with this aim in view that he incorporated extensive details about Hinduism in his *A'in-i Akbari* which, in the words of Jarrett "crystallizes and records in brief, for all time, the state of Hindu learning, and besides its statistical utility, serves as an admirable treatise of reference on numerous branches of Brahmanical science and on the manners, beliefs, traditions and indigenous lore which for the most part still retain and will long continue their hold on the popular mind.[1]"

Abul Fazl was opposed to orthodoxy in every form because it prevented the development of society on lines which contribute to its health and prosperity. It appears from his works that Abul Fazl's criticism of orthodoxy was due to two factors: *first*, because it retarded the development of mind by putting chains all around it, and *secondly*, because it created social tensions.

It was with this ideal in mind that Abul Fazl praised the Brahmans of Kashmir in the fourth book of *A'in*. He says: "The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmans. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom, they yet worship God without affectation. They do not sneer at people of other religions. They plant fruit trees and contribute to the welfare of their fellow creatures."[2] Abul Fazl was anxious to see the religious spirit of man work for social welfare and so when he found the Brahmans of Kashmir doing service of mankind by planting fruit trees he could not withhold his meed of praise for them.

Abul Fazl praised Akbar's religious views and experiments because they emanated from his faith in the basic unity of all religions. In *A'in* 77 which deals with Akbar as the spiritual guide of people, he puts a question which supplies the key to his thought. "But have the religious and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground. Is there not everywhere the same enrapturing beauty which beams forth from so

1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Jarrett, Vol. III, p. IX.
2. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. I, Blochmann, Int. p. liv.

many thousand hidden places? Broad indeed is the carpet which God has spread, and beautiful the colours which he has given it."[1]

It is not without significance that all the poets of Akbar's reign whom he has mentioned in *A'in-i Akbari* and whose verses he had quoted there are those who believed in religious cosmopolitanism.[2]

Abul Fazl did not like the idea of slavery. He praises the Indian society for having no slaves.[3] He, however, ignores the position of castes in India while making this observation.

Abul Fazl praises Akbar's regulations regarding the abolition of enslavement in war. The arguments advanced by him reveal his conviction that only the guilty need be punished. "If the husbands have taken the path of insolence," he remarks, "how is it the fault of the wives, and if the fathers have chosen the road of opposition what fault have the children committed?"[4] Giving details of the royal orders he observes: "one of the glorious boons of His Majesty the Shahinshah which shone forth in this auspicious year was the abolition of enslavement. The victorious troops which came into the wide territories of India used in their tyranny to make prisoners of the wives and children and other relatives of the people of India, and used to enjoy them or sell them. His Majesty the Shahinshah, out of his thorough recognition of and worship of God, and from his abundant foresight and right thinking gave orders that no soldier of the victorious armies should in any part of his dominions act in this manner. Although a number of savage natures who were ignorant of the world should make their fastnesses a subject of pride and come forth to do battle, and then be defeated by virtue of the emperor's daily increasing empire, still their families must be protected from the onset of the world-conquering armies. No soldier, high or low, was to enslave them, but was to permit them to go freely to their homes and relations. It was for excellent reasons that His Majesty gave his attention to this subject, for although the binding,

1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. I, Blochmann, Int. p. Iiv footnote.
2. For instance the following verses selected by him are in keeping with his own spirit—Manohar says: از اثر یك نگاه اوست هم بت و هم بتکده و هم بت پرست

Nami says: در مزهب مابجمله یکسان می باش در دائره کفر بایمان می باش

Urfi says: چناں به نیك وبد عرفی بسر کن کز پس مردن مسلمانت بزمزم شوید و هندو و بسو زاند
3. *A'in-i Akbari*, III, Jarrett, p. 9.
4. *Akbar Namah*, II, p. 159-160. Tr. 246-247.

killing or striking the haughty and the chastising the stiff-necked are part of the struggle for empire—and this is a point about which both sound jurists and innovators are agreed—yet it is outside of the canons of justice to regard the chastisement of women and innocent children as the chastisement of the contumacious."

Abul Fazl give a long chapter on the types and classes of women.[1] It is difficult from this description which is purely factual to form any idea of Abul Fazl's own attitute towards women. He refers to Akbar's opinion in *A'in-i Akbari* in connection with certain matters relating to marriage, age of girls, sati etc., but it is difficult to say if these were Abul Fazl's ideas also.[2]

Abul Fazl refers to a number of Akbar's reforms regarding control of intoxicating liquors, forced conversion, enforced sati, and seems to be in full agreement with Akbar's approach in such matters.

A'ins 15, 16, 17 and 19 in the *A'in-i Akbari* are significant in understanding Abul Fazl's approach towards financial assistance to needy people. In *A'in* 15, he deals with *Musaadat* or the loans to officers. *A'in* 16 describes the basis on which donations were made; the next *A'in* deals with *alms*, while the 19 *A'in* gives the principles for the grant of *suyurghals*. He mentions four classes of men who could be considered for *Suyurghal:*

(1) Inquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from all worldly occupation, and make no difference between night and day time in searching after true knowledge;

(2) Those who toil and practice self-denial and have renounced the society of men;

(3) Weak and poor;

(4) Honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are uanble to provide for themselves by taking up a trade.[3]

In this connection he has referred to the grave social implications of accepting bribe and has criticised the former *Sadrs* for their dishonesty.

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1. *A'in-i- Akbari*, III, Jarrett, pp. 257-259
2. e.g. See *A'in*, III, pp. 448-449.
3. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, p. 278.

His whole discussion of the *Suyurghal* rests on the conviction that the needy must be helped but nepotism and bribery should not be allowed to mar the value and effectiveness of a measure intended for social welfare.

III

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE

"The object of outward worship which they affect to call a new divine institute," Akbar used to say, "is for the awakening of slumberers, otherwise the praise of God comes from the heart not the body."[1] Abul Fazl's whole life illustrates the truth of this remark. He was a genuinely religious person, as the *Munajat* shows, but religion was for him a matter of inner spiritual discipline rather than an outward ecclesiastical formality.

Abul Fazl's religious outlook was misunderstood and misrepresented by his contemporaries and became a subject of controversy for posterity. "It has been often asserted," remarks the author of *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, "that Abul Fazl was an infidel. Some say he was a Hindu or a fire-worshiper, or a free thinker, and some go still further and call him an atheist, but others make a more feasible assessment when they call him pantheist who like other sufis claimed for himself a position above the law of the Prophet."[2]

These different assessments of Abul Fazl's religious position were largely due to the different angles from which his thought and personality was judged by his contemporaries.

Abul Fazl's religious ideas were as much the product of his independent religious study as the result and reaction of the orthodox attitude of *ulama*. He could not help being influenced by those contemporary trends of thought which aimed at working out a common religious outlook. Akbar's own liberal religious ideas must have influenced and must have in turn, been influenced by Abul Fazl's ideas. It is difficult to bring out the various influences which went up to make his total religious thought, but his views about fundamental religious matters may be analysed.

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1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. III Book V, *Sayings of His Majesty*, Jarrett, p. 425.
2. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. II, p. 618

Abul Fazl had studied by his fifteenth year all the Muslim religious sciences along with Greek thought and mysticism. Subsequently, dissatisfied with the formal and orthodox interpretation of religion, he turned to "extensive reading, deep meditation and frequent discussion of religious questions[1]".

Abul Fazl thus describes his early efforts at acquiring religious knowledge: "The truths of philosophy and the subtleties of the schools now appeared plain, and a book which I had never before seen gave me a clearer insight than anything I could read. Although I had a special gift which came down upon me from the throne of holiness, yet the inspirations of my venerable father and his making me commit to memory the essential elements of every branch of science, together with the unbroken continuity of this chain were of immense help, and became one of the most important causes of my enlightenment. For ten years longer I made no distinction between night and day, teaching and learning, and recognized no difference between satiety and hunger, nor discriminated between privacy and society, nor had I the power to dissever pain from pleasure. I acknowledged nothing else but the bond of demonstration and the tie of knowledge. Those who had a regard for my constitution. from seeing that two and sometimes three days passed without mv taking food, and that my studious spirit had no inclination there for, were amazed, and stood out strongly against it."[2]

This inquisitive spirit led to a searching study of the classical works and, as Abul Fazl himself says, "at the age of 20 the good tidings of my independence reached me".[3] He writes in *Akbar Namah*:

گاه دل به صحبت دانا یان خطهٔ خطا کشیدی وگاه بمرتاضان

کوه لبنان خاطر رامیل پد ید آمدی گاه شوق بهمزبانی جوگیان

تبت آرام گسل گشتی و گاه همنفسی پادریان پرتگال دامن عزیمتم

گرفتی و گاه همنشینی موبدان فارس ورموزدانی ژند

1. *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. I, Article on 'Abul Faḍl' by Dr. S.N. Hasan.
2. *A'in Akbari*, Jarrett, Vol. III, p. 515
3. *A'in-i Akbari*, Jarrett, Vol. III, p. 516.

اوستا شکیب ربای خاطرشدی، چه دل از صحبت ارباب صحو و
اصحاب سکر دیار خویش گرفته بود»[1]

(A while my heart was drawn towards the sages of the country of Cathay, and awhile it felt inclined towards asceties of Mount Lebanon. Sometimes a desire for conversation with the Lamas of Tibet broke my peace and sometimes a sympathy with the Padrees of Portugal pulled at my skirts. Sometimes a conference with the Mobeds of Persia and sometimes a knowledge of the secrets of Zend Avesta robbed me of my repose, for my soul was alienated from the society of both the *Arbab-i Sahw* and *Ashab-i-Sukr* of my own land)

The contemporary movements also exercised some influence on Abul Fazl's mind. The Mahdavi, the Shattari and the Nuqtawi movements must have influenced his religious thinking considerably. All these three movements were essentially a return to the spirit of religion and disapproved of formal and ritualistic approach to religion.

Concept of Godhead

The *Munajat* gives an idea of Abul Fazl's understanding of the Supreme Reality. To him, God is the creator and the sole cause of all existence, the prime mover of all things and the Eternal Wisdom. He is self-subsisting, All Knowing, All Powerful. He is the True Agent and the Necessary Being. He is the Eternal Spirit.[2]

Abul Fazl believed that comprehension of the 'Divine Reality' was beyond the capacity of man. "What strength has an accidental atom tossed about in the desert of wilderness and thirst", he writes in his *Munajat*, "to attempt the comprehension of the established Sun? What force has it to rise to the height of recognition".[3]

Having rejected direct knowledge of God as something beyond the capacity of man, Abul Fazl always prayed for divine light and inspiration from the Almighty. In his *Munajat*, he prays: "As Thou has brought us from solitary abode of existence which was a house of peace

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1. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. III, p. 84; Beveridge, Tr. p. 17.
2. *The Munajat of Abul Fazl, Medieval India Quartely*, Vol. I No 3-4, p. 119.
3. *Munajat*, Text, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 1-2.

to the abode of superfluous existence which is a mine of noise and house of vision, a mirror of Thy own elegance, not a cause of veiling and separation. Make these impressions of thought a Treasure of wisdom and prudence, not a tool of ignorance and blindness."[1]

Referring to the helplessness of man in understanding the Supreme Reality, he remarks: "The creature may never attain to such knowledge of the creator as to be able to draw a few breaks in the rare atmosphere of the praise of His mysteries or to plant some steps in the field of the comprehension of the wonders of His store house......... My constitution would not allow that, like the ignorant and immitative, I should enter the praise court of the Glorious God by force of words and ejaculations, and be soothed by borrowed metaphors and hackneyed phrases.[2]" This remark shows that Abul Fazl, inspite of his tremendous power of expression, found his eloquence helpless in praising God.

Abul Fazl believed in the creator being entirely detached and aloof from the world, wholly outside the causal change in which all existence is bound. 'One is Creator and Perfect Being and the other is created and imperfect inentity. There can be no direct relation between man and God but that of servitude'.

It was on account of his deep devotional spirit that he came to be called *Abul Wahdat.* He writes: "Although the son of Mubarak is at the present time the object of resentment and held up as a warning to mankind, and a strife of love and hate is kindled in his regard, the worshippers of God who seek the truth give him the name of *Abul Wahdat* (the father of unity i.e. professing the unity of God, instead of Abul Fazl the father of bounty) and account him as an unique servant of the Supreme Giver."[3]

Smith considered him a Sufi and remarked: "Abul Fazl who had been brought up as a learned Muslim theologian with a sufi or mystical tendencies, appears never to have heartily renounced his unorthodox form of Islam.[4] But while Abul Fazl's religious and ethical teachings

1. *Ibid.*,
2. *Akbar Namah,* Vol. I, pp. 2-4; Beveridge I, p. 13.
3. *A'in-i Akbari,* Vol. II, p. 203; Jarrett & Sarkar, III, pp. 523-24.
4. *Akbar, the Great Moghul.* p. 310.

have their roots in devotion to God, the term Sufism was never palatable to him and he regarded the appellation too high for himself. His *Tasawwuf*, if the term can be applied to him in a broad sense, has a practical implication and the attainment of salvation, not his primary aim. He could not himself decide whether he was a sufi or an illuminati, a scholastic, or a peripatetic. He says: "Let it not remain hidden from those of acute understanding that the highest aim and the loftiest design of a man is knowledge of Being and the apprehension of the Attributes of God. The enquirers of the invaluable pearl (God) are divided into two categories, one has attached itself to *Kashf* and *Shahud* (direct religious experience and the direct apprehension of Being). Another class has resorted to reason. If the former is confiding with the Prophet, they may be called sufis otherwise as the illuminati. If the latter believed in the prophet they may be called scholastic otherwise peripatetic............ O God, guide me to any one to which Thou wisheth."[1]

He found himself so weak and frail before the divine Majesty that it was quite impossible for him to adorn the *Akbar Namah* with general or special salutations to great saints and the master of divine mysteries, like other authors. He has tried to convince all those who objected to his excluding the praise of the prophet Muhammad from his work. However unconvincing the argument might be for his critics, it is clear that he was never actuated by any hostile feeling towards the Prophet.

Abul Fazl expresses contrition at having often been distracted from his goal by worldly affairs and rebukes himself for his servitude to knowledge and gold.[2] He had great confidence in God and declared Him to be with every one who sincerely yearned for Him, while the secrets of His Being remained an insoluble mystery. His glory and power are every where manifest. He writes to Khan-i Khanan: "God is with you not in the sense that you have come to the precincts of his knowledge but in the sense that you intended to enter his will or wanted to be resolute in it."[3]

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1. *Insha*, Vol. III, p. 227.
2. *Insha*, III, p. 223.
3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 149.

Emphasis on spiritual aspect of religion

Abul Fazl believed that formal religion and adherence to its ritualistic aspects did not lead to the salvation of man. For real spiritual advance, it was necessary to reform and purify the inner life. It was on this account that he looked down upon formalistic interpretations of religion as offered by the orthodox theologians. Abul Fazl called *namaz* and *roza* as bodily worship, and *Haj* and *zakat* as the worship through money. He condemned those Muslims who performed their prayers only for show. He used to say that mere repetition of the creed was no religion.[1] He says in his *Munajat*: "The *Kaba* of clay on one side but the *Qibla* of heart was everywhere."[2]

Abul Fazl did not approve of the idea of give and take underlying the actions of those who prayed in their eagerness to deserve paradise. He prays to God

« ای‌همه دان همه بین، اگرچه در بهشت و دوزخ صوری اختلاف است،
اما در بهشت و دوزخ معنوی اتفاق است، هر دو را از پیش نظر بردار،
واین دل بی‌مایه را از سوداگری خلاص کن »[3]

(O, All-Knowing and All-Seeing! Though there is difference of opinion about Thy apparent heaven and hell, all are unanimous about the real heaven and hell. Efface both before my eyes and liberate this worthless heart from trading for profit.)

Religion as Service of Humanity

Abul Fazl interpreted religion as service of man. He illustrates this attitude by quoting an example of Shaikh Alauddaula Samnani in a letter to Qasim Khan. He says that the Shaikh who later in his life became a famous sufi was a minister in his early years. He spent forty years in prayers, contemplation and fasting. One day in the closing years of his life he dreamt that it was the Day of Resurrection and that God had ordered his devotions and austerities to be kept on one scale of the balance and the recompense of conciliating the heart of an old

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1. *Akbar Namah*, Vol. III, p. 255; Beveridge Vol. III, p. 369.
2. *Munajat, Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 3-4, p. 120.
3. *Munajat*, p. 10.

woman during his ministership on the other. When weighed the other side tilted the balance."[1]

Attitude Towards Other Religions

Abul Fazl had a very broad and cosmopolitan attitude towards other faiths and religions. He used to say: "The pious and the righteous did not limit the divine mercy to any particular group and kept themselves pure from the defilement and sat on the throne of resignation."[2]

He displayed great respect for the houses of worship of different religions. The following inscription written by him for a temple in Kashmir illustrates Abul Fazl's cosmopolitan ideas about religion:

«الٰہی بہر خانہ کہ می نگرم جویابی تواند و بہر زبان کہ من شنوم گویای تو

کفرو اسلام در رہت پویان
وحدہ لاشریك لہ گویان

اگر مسجدست یاد تو نعرۂ قدوس میزند واگر کلیساست بشوق تو ناقوس می جنبانند

بیت ،

ای بتوغمت را دل عشاق نشانہ   خلق بتومشغول وتو غایب ازمیانہ
گہ معتکف دیرم و گہ ساکن مسجد   یعنی کہ ترا میطلبم خانہ بخانہ
گہ معتکف دیرم و گہ ساکن مسجد   یعنی کہ ترا میطلبم خانہ بخانہ

اگر خامان ترا بکفرو اسلام کارے نیست این ہر دو را در پردہ اسلام تو بارے نہ

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1. *Insha*, Vol. II, p. 180.
2. *Insha*, Vol. III, p. 226

کفر کافر را ودین دیندار را
ذرهٔ دردی دل عطار را

این خانه بنیت ایتلاف قلوب مؤحدان هندوستان خصوصاً معبود پرستان عرصهٔ کشمیر تعمیر یافته٠

بفرمان حذیو تخت و افسر چراغ آفرینش شاه اکبر
نظام اعتدال هفت معدن کمال امتزاج چار عنصر

هر که نظر صدق نینداخته این خانه را خراب سازد باید که نخست معبد خود را بیندازد چه اگر نظر بردل است باهمه ساختنی است وا گر چشم بر آب و گل است همه برانداختنی٬

بیت:

خداوندا چوداد کاردادی مدار کار بر نیت نهادی
توق بر بارگاه نیت آگاه به پیش شاه داری نیت شاه

(O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee,
Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal."

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a christian church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister,
and sometimes the mosque,
But It is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

The elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of rose petal belongs to the heart of the
Perfume-seller.[1]

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustan, and especially those of his worshippers that live in the province of Kashmir,

By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of Creation, Shah Akbar,
In whom the seven minerals find uniformity, in whom the four elements attain perfect mixture.[2]
He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place of worship; and if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive;

Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what motives a king should have."[3])

Peace with All

From this attitude of to'erance and cosmopolitanism emanated Abul Fazl's concept of 'Peace with all.' In a letter to Khan-i-Khanan, Abul Fazl writes: "What account should I give of my self? The commanding soul is striving very much against the tranquil state of mind. The natural self is bewailing against the apparent grief owing to innate blindness. As

1. This translation by Blochmann is defective. The word Attar in the original refers to the great mystic poet of the 12th century, Shaikh Fariduddin Attar and should not be, literally translated. The correct translation of the verse is 'Heresy to the heretic and religion to the orthodox, an atom of divine love for the heart of Attar."
2. Akbar is the *Insan-i-Kamil*, or Perfect man.
3. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. I, Blochmann, p. liv, lv, lvi.

I am faced with 'Peace with all I hope to desist from lamentation and accept good counsel."[1]

In the *Akbar Namah* he again and again discusses the need of pursuing a policy of 'Peace with all' and says that it was after very great struggle, inner and outward, that he had realised the wisdom underlying this principle. He considered it to be of utmost consequence in maintaining a healthy state of society. In a letter to Khan-i Khanan he says "that one of the factors responsible for the prosperity of Akbar's reign was his sense of justice and Peace with all. Proceeding further he advised Khan-i-Khanan not to look with contempt or enmity on the people who followed laws different from his own."[2]

In a letter to Shah Abbas Safawi, on behalf of Akbar, Abul Fazl deals at some length with the principle of *Sulh-i-Kul.* "It must be considered", he writes, "that divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed, and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into ever verbal flower garden of Peace with all. The increase of one's good fortune must always be kept in full view, for the eternal God is bounteous to all souls and conditions of men. Hence it is fitting that kings, who are the shadow of divinity, should not cast away this principle. For, the Creator has given the sublime order (that of kings) for the discipline and guardianship of all mankind, so that they may watch over the honour and reputation of every class...... In fine, the position of every sect comes under one of two categories. Either it is in possession of Truth, and in that case one should seek directions from it and accept its views. Or is it in the wrong, and then it is unfortunate and suffering from the disease of ignorance, and is a subject for pitying kindness and not for harshness and reproach. One must exercise wide toleration and knock at the door of inspection, for in this way will the veil be removed from the wide extent of spiritualities and temporalities and there will be ample life and fortune."[3]

Riza

Abul Fazl looked upon an attitude of Riza (resignation to the will

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1. *Insha*, Vol. III, p. 126.
2. *Insha*, Vol. II, p. 100.
3. *Akbar Namah*, Text, Vol. III, p. 659, Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 1012.

of God) as the key to human happiness. In one of his letters to Abul Khair, he writes:

« آدم زاد را و نظر است ، و کم کسی باشد که ازان بهر نداشة باشد، یکی حوا له بخدای کردن واورا دیدن ، دوم دو چشم از و پوشیدن واسباب در نظر دا شتن، نخستین نظر اندوه بررو غم کا بهد ، و بر رضا و تسلیم پیوند جاوید بخشد ، و دید دوم غم افزاید ، وجان گزاید- پس بخت در انکه در افزونی دید اول جست وجوی سخت کند ، و تکاپوی براصل نماید»[1]

(There are two alternatives for every human being and there is none who is not concerned with them. One is surrendering to the will of God and being conscious of His Presence; and the other is to shut your eyes to Him and to rely for your success upon material and causal circumstances. The first dispeles grief and sorrow and confers solace and brings satisfaction; the other attitude increases grief and anxiety. He alone is fortunate who strives after the first.)

Abul Fazl's religious thought was to a large extent the result of his own mental deliberation and the bitter experiences of his life in dealing with the fanatical people. It may however be said that many of these ideas had their roots in the teachings of the early Muslim mystics. When he interpreted religion as service of mankind he said what Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya had remarked centuries before him. According to the Shaikh, service of people (طاعت متعدی) was of greater value than mere ritualistic observance of prayers and fasts (طاعت لازمی).[2] In his works Abul Fazl refers to mystics like Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya Maniri, Alauddaula Samnani, Rumi, Jami, Hafiz and others. Philosophic inquiry, practical experience of life and a deeper understanding of

1. *Insha*, III, p. 174.

2. *Fawa'id-ut Fu'ad*, pp. 13-14; *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, p. 411.

religion led Abul Fazl to believe with Hafiz

حافظا گر وصل خواهی صلح کن با خاص و عام
با مسلمان الله الله با برهمن رام رام

(Hafiz if you want to achieve your object, be on terms of Peace with all, high and low,

Accost the Muslim with 'Allah Allah' and greet the Hindu with the words 'Ram Ram'.)

IV

IMPACT ON SOCIETY

Abul Fazl had a deeply inquisitive mind which refused to be satisfied by formal and traditional explanation of things. When confronted with any problem, he went deep down to its heart and analysed it philosophically and pragmatically. The Indian situation, both religious and social, was a challenge to his thought and it developed his ideas on the lines on which attempt has been made in the preceeding chapters to assess and evaluate the working of his mind.

India, with its diversity of religions and languages, posed a problem of great magnitude to rulers as well as social thinkers. Abul Fazl's analysis of the situation led him to believe that communication of ideas between people of different religions and social backgrounds, and a firm belief that truth is not the sole monopoly of any one group, sect, religion or community alone can ensure harmonious relationship in society.

Though Abul Fazl could never come out of the traditional attitude of classifying society into different categories of men, a deep humanism made him reject any discriminatory treatment of the various sections of the people. He never allowed his thought to run into channels in which Ziauddin Barani's prejudices had conducted him in his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari.* For Barani birth was the basis of greatness and he believed firmly in *sharif* and *razil.* Abul Fazl considered pride in genealogy as nothing short of vain boastfulness. In a very eloquent passage in *A'in-i Akbari* he condemns this attitude as 'trading with the bones of ancestors'.

Abul Fazl laid great emphasis on justice and fairplay and wanted the rulers to appreciate and understand its supreme value in maintaining peace and amity amongst people. In his letter to Shah Abbas, drafted on behalf of Akbar, he considers justice to be the corner-stone of effective administration. As informal secretary of Akbar and as a distinguished man of letters who had close links with the nobles and the officials of Akbar he had many opportunities to communicate his views to those

who mattered in administration. Sometimes he used effective anecdotes to convey such ideas. In a letter to Khan-i-Khanan he refers to Shaikh Alaud Daula Samnani's dream in which a single act of justice and fairplay outweighed his life long prayers and penitences.

Abul Fazl believed that religion aimed at the purification of inner life and that mere ritualistic adherence to certain dogmas and practices was a negation of the true spirit of religion. He was prepared to listen with sympathy and understanding to the point of view with which he did not agree. He believed that such an attitude can reduce tensions in society. This trend of thought, buttressed by the crying social need of the hour, led him to develop his theory of *Sulh-i Kul* (Peace with All). It was this policy which constituted the basis of his actions. He exhorts Shah Abbas to follow this principle consistantly and carefully in his empire.

Blochmann says: "Abul Fazl's influence on his age was immense... .... (he) led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties and from the moment that he entered the court, the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islam in but few other countries had to solve, was carefully considered, and the policy of toleration was the result."[1]

(Miss) Azra Nizami

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1. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. I. Blochmann, p. III.

APPENDIX 'A'

نامهٔ شیخ مبارک به ابوالفیض فیضی

بعد از دعای بقای ایمان کامل که اصل اجل نعم الهی است و سرمایهٔ نا متناهی، بر ضمیر فیض پزیر فرزند دلبند سعادت مند. قرهٔعینی، ثمرهٔ فواد، ابوالفیض (ایده الله تعالی بالفیض الا بدی و الفضل السر مدی) مخفی نماند که زمانه بواسطه شومی علماء بی دیانت و فقهای پر خیانت، فساد بی نهایت انگیخته و گرد حوادث ریخته، حضرت حجهٔ الاسلام امام محمد غزالی (قدس سره) فرمود

آن کسان که راه دین را روان من ساختند، اکنون این راه میزنند. چگونه درین راه توان رفت —

شیخ اوحدی، که از بندگان دیندار است، در 'جام جم' می فرماید

روح قرآن بر آسمان بردند
نقد تحقیق از میان بردند
از حقیقت بدست کوری چند
مصحفی مانند کهنه گوری چند

ترکان ناخوانده، و سپاه ساده لوح، به مراتب ازین جماعهٔ بهتر اند، یکی، بزور چاپلوسی و خاک بوسی افغانان، شیخ الاسلام لقب یافته و دیگری، بواسطه غلط نمامی و خود ستائی صدر الکرام. بواسطه تعصب و جاه دنیوی، فتوی برقتل سید می دهند و افغانان بی ایمان ـ که سب بنی کرده — قتل او را مشروع میدانند۔

سبحان الله این چه اسلام است! زنهار صد زنهار از حیله و مکر این زاهدان ـ که دعوی اسلام می کنند ـ ایمن مباشند که بیباک تر

ازبنند اگر این بندگان حضرت خلد الله ملکه علوم عقلی و نقلی پیش فقیر خوانده. و ابواب انواع علوم و معارف بر ایشان مفتوح شده ، در مجلس اشرف اقدس به این سفید ریشان سیاه دل ، و خود پرستان بی حاصل ، مباحثه میکنند ادب می نمایند ـ

چون بیکسی هر دو برادر و کثرت هجوم فساد در نظر میآید ، بسیار دل گیری دست می دهد ، که مبادا این جماعه حیله‌ور ، در مقام ظرافت شوند ، رفته رفته ضرر کشان . آن فرزند باید ، برادر اعز خود را نصیحت نماید که : سکوت کردن فرض و قتست! و آن که خاطر را تسلی بخشد ، آن است که ، بندگان حضرت خلافت پناهی ، بنور ولایت خاص ، آن جماعت را دریافته اند و تعصب و بی دیانتی آنها دانسته اند . الحمد لله علی ذالک حق سبحانه تعالی ظلال دولت و اقبال آن حضرت امتداد داراد ـ

و نیز شنیده شد که یکی از کوریان ، در مجلس بعضی دشمنان ، نام والدهٔسیدهٔ فقیر را به اهانت برده است ـ اورا به غضب خدا و رسول سپرده شد ـ

ای فرزند ! از نسبت لاف زدن ، استخوان بدان فروختن است . و افتخار به کمال غیر کردن ، نشان کوری است ـ مثنوی

بندهٔ عشق شدی ، ترک نسب کن (جامی)

که درین راه فلان ابن فلان ، چیزی نیست

چو نادانان ، نه در بند پدر باش

پدر بگذار ! فرزند هنر باش

چو دود از روشنی بنود نشانند

چه حاصل زان که ، آتش راست فروزند

پسر نوح کافر گشته و از بت تراش حضرت ابراهیم بوجود آمد ـ بیت

گرد نام پدر ، چه میگردی   پدر خویش شو ، اگر مردی

فقیر مبارک بن خضر بن رکن‌الدین عبدالله بن موسی بن عبدالقیوم بن عبدالله قریشی است ـ و این شیخ موسی و پدرانش از عرب بودند. و در یمن سکونت داشتند ـ و این شیخ موسی سیر عالم بسیار کرده بود . آخر به ارادت در ولایت سند در قصبهٔ ریل آمد و متوطن شده . بعد در همانجا متاهل شد ـ بدرویشی و فقر و زهد آراسته بود ـ همین روش در فرزندان او بود ـ تا والد من (در خانه) شیخ منور پدر نظام‌الدین ناگوری متوطن شده ـ فقیر خود با والده ام ، از ولایت سند بر آمده ، در ناگور بجوار حضرت سلطان التارکین متوطن شد ـ

فقیر خورد بودم که والدم (خضر) بجهت آوردن بعضی اقربا به سند رفته بود ، و مادرم در خانه شیخ منور مذکور گذاشته بود ـ والد من از تقدیر الهی به سند رفته وفات یافته . و مادرم بیکس مانده ، مرا می پرورید ـ و در تعلیم سعی بلیغ می نمود ـ حق سبحانه بر بیکسی و یتیمی و غریبی من نظر کرد ـ الطاف بی غایات خود انداخته ، فقیر را رشدی عظیم ، و قلبی سلیم ، و فهمی مستقیم حفظ نموده ـ در چهارده سالگی علوم متداوله موهوب شد ـ و شیخ زاد های جاهل ، حسد تمام می بردند ـ

درمیان‌عورات یک بار گفتگو شد ، مادر را لت کردند ـ مادرم گریه کنان به خانهٔ که مغفور مرحوم سید السادات شیخ عبدالرزاق قادری حسینی بغدادی (رحمة‌الله‌علیه) ـ که یکی از اولاد حضرت غوث ربانی سید عبدالقادر جیلانی (قدس سره) بودند ، و بر پدرم شیخ خضر عنایت و شفقت بسیار داشتند ، رفته داد خواهی کرد ـ و هم چنین به خدام شیخ یوسف سندهی ، که سیار هفت اقلیم است و بیست حج گذاشته بود ، و بر احوال پدرم اطلاع داشت ـ رفته ، مظلومی خود را گفت : اینها آن جماعهٔ بی اندام را طلب فرمودند که شما چرا این سید زادی بیکس غریب را لت کرده اید ، اینان در جواب گفتند که زن شیخ خضر

خدمتگار و خانه زاد ماست ـ که به شیخ را داده بودیم، و او با اولاد و همشیر های ما دشنام می داد ـ ما هم او را لت کردیم !

اگرچه آن شیخ زاد های جاهل، به واسطهٔ خلاصی خود، تهمتی در معرکه کرده بودند، اما چون خدام عالی مقام ــ که اسامی ایشان در متن مذکور شده ـ از احوال پدر و مادر اطلاع داشتند. آنجماعه جهال بی اندام را بسزا رساند ند و شد تها کردند ـ

بعد ازان فقیر با والده در جوار جناب سید یحیی مزکور می بودم ـ ازان سپس والده هم به رحمت حق پیوسته، و آن سه بزرگوار نیز ازین عالم رخت اقامت بر بستند و بنیاد حادثهٔ مالیده شد ـ فقیر را در سر سودای مسافرت افتاد و سفرها کرد ـ از محنتهای سفر و احوال مسافرت چه نویسد، مگر به شما گفته شده ـ

ای فرزند ارجمند حوصله را فراخ می باید کرد و از سخن، که اصل حسد بگویند، از جا نباید رفت ـ از آدم تا این دم، مردم سنجیده و حق شناس، در هر عصر بسیار کم بودند و همیشه تهمت و افتراء و حسد و بغض و حق در عالم بوده ـ

حق سبحانه از شر اهل فساد در امان خود محفوظ دارد ـ حضرت بادشاه اسلام (خلد الله ملکه و اقباله و حصل آماله) را توفیق مزید خدا جوئی و حق پرستی و دوست نوازی و دشمن گدازی روز بروز زیادت گرداناد و شهزادگان کامگار برخوردار را به کمال سیری روشن ضمیری رساناد ـ

(از ذخیره دانش گاه سنده . بحواله ''احوال و آثار ملک الشعرا ابوالفیض فیضی'' از سید حسام الدین راشدی)

APPENDIX 'B'

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INCIDENTS OF REBELLIONS DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR AKBAR[1]

It was not very difficult for Akbar to secure his ever extending territory from external invaders-whether of foreign or Indian origin, but the establishment of absolute peace within the conquered dominion was a very different proposition. Throughout his long reign the Emperor was perpetually harassed by uprisings staged by the disaffected elements. Indeed a systematic survey of these revolts as related by his court historian 'Allami Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnāma*[2] shows that there were no less than hundred and forty-four such incidents. That is, almost every third month on an average the Emperor in the course of all his fifty years of rule, was required to despatch forces or make some alternative adjustment in order to restore peace in the affected area. The suppression of revolts, therefore, must have been one of the chief items on the imperial agenda of the annual schedule. The effectiveness of the Emperor's measures in this direction may be assessed by the nature and incidents of disturbances in the following reigns.

Out of the above 144 revolts thirty were raised by the Princes or high graded *umarah* of the realm, eighty by the leaders of the distant provinces beginning immediately after their annexation, twenty eight by the Hindu *Zamindārs* and six were by miscellaneous groups of minor significance. All these incidents of rebellions with the above classification are appended at the end in four Tables. The survey is based entirely upon *Akbarnāma*, which naturally presents them from the point of view of the Emperor and state only. This fact prevents us from making the study more complete as we can not under the conditions of our present knowledge draw upon sources dealing with these incidents from the

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1. This paper appears as an Appendix in my forthcoming monograph entitled *Urbanisation and Urban Centre under the Great Mughals* to be published from Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

2. Allami Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, tr., vol. II, Calcutta, 1879; vol. III, Calcutta, 1886.

point of view of rebels. Amongst other places the gap is felt most sharply when we want to find out the reason why so and so became refractory, 'contumacious' 'presumtuous', 'stirred up strife', 'spread disorder' and so on. Or in other words what were the factors involved in these seditious uprisings. Some of them certainly may have been the rebellious type, but this out of ordinary nature could not account for the best part of the 144 revolts. A study of the other contemporary chronicles as that of Badayuni's *Muntakhabāt ut Tawārīkh* or Nizamuddin Ahmed Bakhshi's *Tabaqāt i Akbari* and similar other chronicles do not yield much information regarding this particular angle of rebellions. we seek. Because like Abul Fazl they too were interested primarily in recording the events as they transpired and not in analysing the rebellions, though if they had this analytical approach it could evidently, have been of great value to the subsequent rulers in formulating their policies.

Though most of the rebellions were conducted individually by one leader, there are occasions when confederacies were formed for the simple purpose of combining forces against the Emperor. In fact, aside from the local alliances, there is at least one instance when extra provincial confederation was concluded, that of Mir Muizzul Mulk and Maulana Muhammad Yazdi, the Qazi of Jaunpur, (in Jaunpur in 988/1581) with Mirza Muhammad Hakim in Kabul.[1] Nizamuddin Ahmad however refers to the letters of 'Asi Kabuli and Masoom Khan Farankhudi which they had written to the Mirza pursuading him to come (and conquer) Hindustan.[2] The rebels did not always content themselves with one revolt. Shah Abul Ma'āli, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the Gujarati Mirzas, Muzaffar Gujarati, the Afghans of Bengal, Yaqoob and other Kashmiris, Yusufzais, Tarikis and other tribes of Afghanistan do not seem to have had any other occupation in life except to raise disturbance here, there, every-where. Frequent repitition of these occurances by the same individual or party was perhaps occasioned by the rather soft treatment meted out by the Emperor after they had been discomfited in battles. As far as possible the Emperor pardoned the offenders, at any rate except under extreme circumstances he usually avoided capital punishment.

1. Wolesley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV, 1957, ed. pp. 125-27.
2. Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi, *Tabaqāt i Akbari*, tr., B. Dey, Calcutta, 1936, p. 544.

I. *Rebellions of the Nobles* : At the beginning of the reign *umarah*, the actual pillars of the state were mostly of non Hindustani extraction. Broadly speaking they were good generals, competent and influential men sometime with over-riding ambition. Shah Abul Ma'ali, Bairam Khan Khan Khanan, Adham Khan, Khan Zaman Ali, Quli Khan and brothers, Asaf Khan and Munim Khan Khan Khanan are some such names in point. In all they rebelled twenty five times if we exclude the uprisings of the Royal Princes, which are shown in the same Table. None of them aspired for the throne of Delhi and Agra. But it would seem that they could not imagine why they too could not assume independence in a principality of their own, especially so since they were in no way inferior in resources and effectiveness to the young Akbar. The challenge thus thrown by the rival claimants to the extension of his dominion provided the shrewd and precocious young Emperor with a valuable lesson. He could not depend exclusively on these immigrant nobles. In order to counteract their power and prestige he should create a new set of native nobles. Of course he did not entertain the idea of getting rid of the foreign ones as he was evidently quite conscious of their talents which if handled properly could be used for the benefit of the Empire. But on the other hand, depending entirely on Hindustani high graded executives would be to fall from frying pan into the fire. In the circumstances the most judicious way out was to retain and humour the older set of *umarah* with perhaps some curtailed power and also enrol a Hindustani set with on the whole lesser ranks and wider powers.[1] Thus since early days of assumption of rule the Emperor began enlisting Indian *mansabdars*; Raja Bhara Mal of Amber, headed the list, many other Hindus such as Todar Mal, Birbal, Ray Rayan Singh, Jagannath and so on followed. Hindustani Muslim *amirs* such as Saiyads of Barha, Kambohs of Mar-i-hira, Saiyad Bukharis from Gujarat, Allami Abul Fazl and Faizi of Nagor and numerous others were also entrusted with important positions. At times they wielded considerable influence at the court and also in the eventual formulations and implementation of legislative measures as for example in the revenue administration or in the imperial religious policy. The *A'in Akbari* bears out that around the close of Akbar's reign 155 out of an aggregate of 406

1. I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi, 1966, pp. 95-100.

mansabs (exclusive of the top four which were reserved for the Royal Princes) were conferred on Indian born *amirs*[1]. It may be argued with reason that quite a good proportion of these 155 were composed of the progeny of the recently deceased eminent *mansabdārs* of foreign birth, who had been enlisted later in the reign as the new generation came up. But in fact the process had been set in motion since the early years of the reign and the Emperor went on adding to the list as he came in contact with them.

In this new set up of an ever widening circle of Hindustani rivals at court the foreign born *umarah* with no other local support except their *mansab* had to be constantly vigilant and on their guard, frequently rendering fresh proofs of their loyalty to their sovreign, failing which they might jeopardise their positions at the Court. The Emperor though extraordinarily mild and considerate towards his *amirs*[2] could nevertheless be influenced by the evil tongues of the interested parties.[3] This atmosphere at the Court would naturally tend to make the foreign *amirs* more submissive, less turbulent and careful in their expressions of loyalty or even in regard to any act of insubordination. Furthermore, as the time passed and the work of consolidation of the Empire advanced, contumacy could not be regarded as rewarding as in the opening years of the reign. Besides, enjoying suitable *mansabs* and high prestige in the realm their longing for a doubtful independent principality would subside. Finally, the system of checks and balances and division of functions so minutely worked out and introduced by Akbar in both the Central and Provincial administration had greatly narrowed down the opportunity of revolts by the officers even in the distant frontier provinces of the Empire. In fact the spirit of rebelliousness amongst the *umarah* so widespread in about the first decade of the reign was handled with such adroitness that it was reduced to a minimum after that period. Indeed, even in the three subsequent reigns they seldom raised the head of sedition.

As regards the revolts of Royal Princes, Akbar himself was at the

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1. Allami Abul Fazl, *A'in I Akbari*, vol. I, Munshi Nawal Kishore Press, 1869 ed., 279-90.

2. See column 'Outcome' in Table I for Akbar's frequent forgiveness to the offenders.

3. For example see the case of Khwajah Shah Mansur *A.N.* III. 344.

outset rather fortunate in having no effective rival claimant to his throne. Mirza Hakim his only surviving brother was too young in 1556 to contest his accession. Later in 1566 the supporters of Mirza enacted a minor outbreak. The 1581 rebellion was however, relatively more serious as the disaffected elements of Jaunpur were using him against the Emperor. But the Prince was too weak to offer any real resistance and submitted at the first opportunity. The kind Emperor decided to overlook his lapse of insubordination and reinstated him at Kabul. Sultan Salim's hostile behaviour around the close of the reign caused the Emperor greater distress than any real political apprehension or anxiety for the welfare of the Empire. The repeated acts of insubordination by the heir apparent had nevertheless clouded the last years of an otherwise long and glorious reign of Emperor Akbar.

II. *Rebellions in the Recently Annexed Provinces* : The disaffected leaders of the frontier provinces appearing immediately after their annexation were harder nut to crack. Evidently they were encouraged in their subversive activities by the remoteness from the capital. In Gujarat, Bengal, Afghanistan and Kashmir, the frequency of their uprisings is unprecended as is evident from the Table No. II. If we leave out the first revolt of sons of Sultan Mirza in 1567 as it occured five years earlier then between the years 1572-1604, there are no less than 79 incidents of their uprisings. It was good that by about 1570s the Emperor had so successfully tackled the problem presented earlier by the *umarahs* that now with the bursting up of these rebellions he was able to confidently entrust their suppression to his *mansabdars*, without whose aid and support the debacle of his Empire would have been as catastrophic as that of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq more than two centuries earlier.

In Gujarat chief opposition was presented by the Mirzas-grandsons of Mirza Kamran. Since the *subah* had been an idependent state under the Sultans prior to Akbar's conquest the Mirzas cherished the dream of harassing the Emperor to the extent of driving him out of the province and establishing their own monarchy. The descendants of the Gujarati Sultans were by now for all practical purposes extinct. This factor provided the Mirzas with better opportunity for the occupation of Gujarat. In all they rose at least nine times between the years 1567-1577, or almost annually for ten years running. The pattern of their operation seems to have been to appoint a safe place as their temporary base,

raise a force as best as they could, confront the imperialists after spreading disturbance in the area fly and disperse if worsted. Usually the brothers worked together but occasionally they divided their forces to cover more than one place at a time for their contumacious activities as shown in Table No. II. There are also instances when they combined with others such as Sher Khan Fauladi, (in no. 5, 8), Ikhtiarul Mulk (in no. 8) or other malcontents as in no. 15.

After an interval of about five years Etemad Khan one of the *amirs* of Gujarat attempted to raise a pretender Muzaffar Gujarati as a scion of the Sultans and rightful claimant to the throne of the *subah*. From 1583 to 1592 he rebelled eight times, out of which five times he revolted in collusion with Etemad Khan, Hindu *Zamindārs*, Fateh Khan, Jamu and other discontented elements, respectively. Evidently he desperately endeavoured to make good his bid for power and with this purpose in view he entered into alliances with whomsoever was willing to make a common cause with him. Later in 1597 his sons Bahadur followed in the footsteps of his father and raised the standard of revolt in conjunction with a Hindu *Zamindār*. But his attempt proved to be as abortive as that of his father. Afterwards Gujarat ceased to give any serious trouble to the Emperor.

The fact that the non Gujarati Mirzas and Muzaffar Gujarati of doubtful origin were able to collect enough forces for about twenty-four long years and also frequently secure the aid of local *amir*, or Hindu *Zamindār* reflects the unpopularity of the imperial rule at the early stage of the *subah's* incorporation in the Empire. In all the incidents of these revolts the motive was sedition against Emperor Akbar, an attempt to overthrow his rule and set up their own state. No other grudge or grievance of the people is ever alluded to in this connection in the sources available to us. Therefore it would follow that these revolts were primarily politically motivated[1] uprisings. Evidently a considerable segment of the Gujarati chiefs or men who mattered did not welcome their subjugation by the Mughal *Bādshāh* of Hindustan so that for two decades they persisted in their struggle to regain their sovereign status as under the Sultans. But

1. It would be useful if we could be absolutely certain that no other considerations were involved in these apparently political uprisings. Because it is barely possible that the Agra legislations in some way or other did not suit the Gujaratis—for example the Gujarati traders.

as the revolts were not properly organised or systematically conducted they usually sustained defeat on the battlefield and failed in their ultimate objective. As the imperial hold over the *subah* grew firm, reasonably good administration was introduced in an atmosphere of general peace and tranquility the recalcitrants reconciled themselves to the inevitable and submitted to the Emperor.

Similar but more vigorous attempt at seizing the Bengal throne was made by the Afghans in Bengal. From 1575 to 1603 thirty uprisings took place in the eastern provinces of Bengal and Bihar, as may be gathered from the Table II. These eastern rebels had greater natural advantages than the Gujaratis. The rather long voyage up and down the Gangetic course between Agra and Sonargaon was of no great use when on matters of urgency immediate actions were needed. The only practicable land route to and from Bengal lay through the narrow pass in the Jaharkhand hilly forest, a situation which rendered any communication with the capital quite difficult. The insaluburious climate of that eastern province also went in favour of the rebels. The Hindustani forces unused to this climate suffered in health and morale sometimes ruining their chances of making any progress. The innumerable watery courses of this low-land *subah,* so embarrassing to the imperialists had contributed in an inverse proportion to the strengthening of the defence of the Afghan rebels. Finally, the Afghanis being more militant by nature and skilled strategists by practice could offer much more stiff resistance to the imperialists than say the Gujarati rebels.

Consequently Emperor Akbar was not so successful in Bengal as he was in Gujarat. The struggle here was long, casualities were high, the control over the *subah* remained partial and not so effective. At his death the *subah* was still regarded as a land of pestilence, full of mud and mire and concealing numerous Afghan recalcitrants in its almost inaccessible interior. Sulaiman Karrani[1], Emperor Akbar's tributary

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1. He was one of the nobles of Sher Shah Suri. On the death of his successor Islam Shah Taj Khan Karrani was appointed regent of the young Prince Firoze who was now raised to the throne. Later finding his position untenable at the Suri Court Taj Khan Karrani moved out of it and reached Bengal and Bihar which being vacant at the moment he occupied in 1564. Taj Khan Karrani and his brother and successor Sulaiman Karrani had both owed allegiance to Emperor Akbar.

died in c. 1572 his eventual successor Daud Karrani refused to accept his vassalage. The hostilities thus starting continued intermittently till 1601, when the Afghans though greatly weakened were by no means crushed. Taj Karrani's house was not the only opponent of the imperial rule but several other *jāgirdārs*, petty chiefs, adventurers and Hindu *Zamīndārs* taking advantage of the disturbed situation obtaining in the province joined the league at will, rising now singly now collectively. Occasionally their disturbances spread out as far west as Bihar such as in the cases of nos. 24 and 25. Or conversely even the Bihar trouble makers were at times aided and supported by their associates in Bengal as in nos. 12 and 13. Though at times actively sided the Afghans, the Hindu *Zamindars* were by and large mere onlookers of the contest for power between the two parties, both of whom were at the moment too busy to interfere with them.

It would seem that the Afghans of Bengal were more reluctant than the Gujaratis to accept the imperial vassalage. Aside from the reasons enumerated above they were presumably goaded on in their struggle in order to retain their identity. Away from their homeland they could survive and flourish only as rulers of the area, devoid of all civilian professions they would sink into absolute obscurity once they gave in to the imperial supremacy. Here we may also bear in mind that Akbar did not enlist Afghans largely amongst his *mansabdārs*[1] undoubtedly because of the bitter experiences in the past few decades that his House had to suffer at their hands. The practical bar from this prosperous avenue of imperial service to which the Afghans were otherwise well qualified might have further aggravated their resentment against the Emperor thereby making them more desperate in their struggle for power in the only province they still held, that of Bengal.

The standard of revolts raised in Afghanistan during Emperor Akbar's reign are distinctly divisible into two categories. First series consisted of those which took place before the death of Mirza Hakim in 993/1585. These uprisings were largely caused by either the members of the ruling House or their *umarah*[2] and have been considered earlier. The second

1. Afghan *mansabdārs* do not figure very frequently in the imperial list of officers in the *Ā'in i Akbari*, see vol. I. pp. 279-90.

2. Table I, nos. 2,7,11,17 and 23.

series dates onward from 1585 when that Prince died and Kabul was formally incorporated in the Empire. These rebellions were generally led by the Afghan tribes or tribal leaders. Unlike the first series, these revolts involved much larger number of Afghans, the rebellious spirit spreading almost all over the province. From 1585 to 1602 they rebelled at least eleven times.[1] On almost each of these occasions they were well organised and drawn from all the important tribes of the area. By virtue of their natural bravery and hardihood as well as advantages accruing to them from the high mountainous terrain and severe cold, the Afghans were able to offer such subborn resistence that the imperialists sustained defeats, inconclusive engagements with occasional victories. By 1602 it had become apparent that the imperialist could not successfully encounter them in open engagaments, other devices will have to be adopted in order to win over the militant nation of Afghans.

Aghans are certainly brave and darinp soldiers but are not necessarily rebellious by nature. Babar had occupied it in c. 1504, then it was passed on to Mirza Kamran, who ruled from Lahore. Humayun conquered it in 1548, in 1556 after recovering the throne of Delhi and Agra he appointed his younger son Prince Mirza Hakim as the ruler of Kabul with Munim Khan as his *atāliq (regent)*. Throughout this period 1504-1585 the Afghans were fairly quiet and submissive though there were several incidents of armed conflicts amongst the Princes and *umarah*. Therefore it would seem that the Afghans apprehended Akbar's rule to fall short in some way or other of their expectations or usual requirements so that they almost in a body rose in revolt as soon as their patron the Prince Mirza Ḥakim passed away.

Abul Fazl relates that Mirza Hakim's soldiers on his death intended leaving for Turan[2] without even waiting to find out Emperor's wishes for Kabul. This would reflect mistrust of the imperial rule by the Afghan soldiers, an attitude in which they were perhaps also governed by the exclusion of the Afghans from imperial service. Though the Emperor had graciously appointed Kalu one of their leaders to a *Mansab* but not caring for the honour, Kalu had left the Court. It is possible that the Afghans were anxious for a change in the imperial policy rather than in

1. Table II, nos. 38, 40, 43, 46, 49, 50, 57, 62, 66 and 79.
2. *A.N.* III. 466.

the acceptance of isolated positions. On the other hand the Emperor could hardly be expected to fulfil such a wish in view of the troubles caused by them to him and his father. At all events, in the circumstances it would have gone against all political statemanship to get too close to confer high and important positions to them. This lack of sympathy on the part of the Emperor may have thrown the Afghans in a defensive position protesting for which they rose up in arms. For a more satisfactory explanation of the situation a study of the Afghan sources would be useful in as much as they may throw fresh light on the factors which were responsible for making the Afghans launch such a bitter and prolonged campaign against their sovereign.

Unlike the Afghans Kashmiri revolts do not seem to be so complicated. Kashmir was conquerred in 944/1586. Initially the imperial rule was not firmly established so the members of the ruling dynasty (Yaqoob Khan) or influential tribal *amirs* as the Chaks revolted, either singly or jointly. In all the Kashmiris rose eight times in the course of eighteen years, from 1586 to 1604.[1] The imperial forces were handicapped by the unfamiliar hilly tract, high mountainous region, severe cold and long and difficult route to and from the capital. As a result the engagements were doubly difficult and strenous for them and they were not always successful in repelling the insurgents. This additional odd confronting the imperial forces went in favour of the rebels but they on their part suffered from lack of unity of purpose or cohesion leading to dissension in their ranks. Thus though the battle was long and hard, the eventual success of the imperialists was however more or less assured.

III. The Hindu *Zamīndārs* (landlords) rose twenty nine times in the course of Akbar's rule of fifty years.[2] Compared to other revolts these are much fewer in number and also less formidable if we consider them individually. Furthermore, these were too widely dispersed in time and space to make it possible for these rebels to effect a strong and durable confederation amongst themselves. Although there are some instances of such collaboration but they are of minor importance.[3] Finally, since

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1. Table II, nos. 54 and 59.
2. Table II, nos. 42, 44, 53, 54, 59, 65, 68 and 80
3. See Table no. III
4. Nos. 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28

they had small areas as their *Zamindāris* (land) they did not possess the necessary resources to take the field against the mighty imperial forces with any hope of success. Therefore they expressed their defiance either by taking advantage of any opportune moment when the attention of the local incumbents was otherwise focussed[1] or by joining hands with any other neighbouring recalcitrants.[2]

This lack of spirit and vigour in their uprisings had lulled the imperial authority into a false sense of their harmlessness. As usual the Emperor was more than willing to pardon and let off the offenders at the merest suggestion of their supplication. In fact the Emperor was anxious to suppress the tumultuous situation and maintain peace but had no wish to extirpate them he did not consider them powerful enough to seriously challenge his authority. Thus the contumacious *Zamindārs* too could always hope to be forgiven in case things went wrong on the battlefield.[3] The *Zamindars* had however deep roots in the soil and unlike the Afghans of Bengal or Mirzas of Gujarat were permanently fixed in their area. Always watchful of any lapse, diversion in the attention of the *subadārs* or slightest indication of relaxation in the imperial control, they would jump at the chance to extend their territory, (may be, also instigate and abet others with a view to hurt the imperial in erest) and possibly shake off their vassalage. In this particular respect they were more dangerous than other rebels, specially so when we realise the frequency of these *Zamindari* pockets all over the imperial map. But evidently Emperor Akbar and his Counsellars had overlooked this aspect or else they did not imagine such a loss of vigour in the Empire as not to be able to crush these petty *Zamindārs* if and when they became too presumptuous.

IV. Fourth Table shows six uprisings of miscellaneous character. Out of these first and third were raised by the generality inhabiting the district of Agra. Their propensity for turbulence has been a byword in history.[4] In point of fact the site of Agra was deliberately decided upon

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1. No. 24 in Table III; *A.N.*, III. 593.
2. Nos. 4, 7, 8, 9, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28 of Table III.
3. See Nos. 2, 7, 12, 16, 18, 23 and 26 of Table III
4. Khawafi Khan, I, 216, 394–95; H.K. Naqvi, *Urban Centre and Industries in Upper India*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, p. 272, n.9.

Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 1506 specifically with a view to keep these Jats and Mewatis overawed and in check.[1] Lacking resources and proper organisation to engage in a concerted action for any length of time they stood no chance against the vigorous onslaughts of the imperial forces. Therefore, though their insurrections were not infrequent they did not constitute any major threat to the stability of the Empire.

Second uprising around Allahabad and Banaras in the early years of the reign, was presumably a mere passing phase where the *jāgirdārs* were simply trying to use the absence of a strong central government. Rana Partap was a fugitive and a sworn enemy of Emperor Akbar, so his attempt at spreading disorder in the imperial dominion is not surprising. The significant fact however, is that he was unable to find support from his own countrymen whose loyalty to the throne he could not shake and was therefore unable to collect enough forces to carry on his war with the Emperor. The fourth rebellion appears to have had some religious colour as Maulana Muhammad Yazdi was the Qazi of Jaunpur—then an important university town. The Maulana was openly in league with Mir Muizzulmulk but may secretly have collaborated with Masoom Khan Farankhudi as well, the arch rebel of the area in 1581. As regards the Bir trouble it was precipitated as the officers did not agree with the decision of their commander Allami Abul Fazl. In the heat of anger they deserted to the enemy and attacked his depleted forces from the other side. Thus actually it was a mutiny of the imperial army placed under Abul Fazl. Evidently the eminent sage, scholar and historian was not equally well versed in generalship.

To sum up, Emperor Akbar's reign opens with the rebellion of *umarah* and within the first decade there were as many as seventeen such incidents. Nobles, if not suitably humoured and yet kept in proper place are apt to become a painful thorn in the flesh of the monarch. Akbar notwithstanding his youth had so skillfully handled them that soon after the end of that period they had begun to identify themselves completely with the state. It would seem that it was only after ensuring their full support that the Emperor had launched upon a programme of conquest of large sized farther off provinces (that is after 1572). But

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1. Niamatulla's *History of the Afghans*, tr. N. Ray, Shantiniketan p.83. Agra was founded by Sultan Sikandar Lodi in 911/1505.

conquest was easier task than establishing perfect tranquility in these annexed *subahs*. This hard end too could be achieved only with the unflinching loyalty of his *mansabdārs* now viewed with each other in rendering sacrifice, in suffering ordeals, in exposing and even giving up their lives for their sovereign. Emperor's meanest wish appears to have held some Divine sanctity for them which had to be fulfilled at all costs. Thus though the period from 1572 onwards is again crowded with revolts Akbar's nerves are unruffled and he keeps himself engaged in diverse activities of the state while the *subedars*, commanders and even lesser executives take care of the turbulant provinces.

The sequence of these events—nobles uprisings, conquests and consolidation—is such that one wonders if they were purely accidental, just moving from step by step they happened to have assumed this shape. If so it is indeed one of the most remarkable series of coincidences. If on the other hand, Akbar had planned them before hand why does Abul Fazl not mention it? Besides, even for a prodigy and genius of Akbar's calibre it is hard to believe that he in the opening years of his rule could have foreseen his future troubles and also worked out a scheme for surmounting those troubles. It is however, possible that the Emperor as a young prince might have had some clear vision of the odds entailed in kingship and as he grew up he moved with utmost caution and circumspection always careful not to lose a gained point or asset, consolidating and ensuring peace and order in the region under control and then deploying his surplus or disengaged forces on to a new project which would, aside from the material gain also act as unifying factor amongst the imperialists. Quelling disturbances in their provinces will keep the *subedārs* with their contingents busy and active while many local mischief makers would be discouraged by their vigilance.

Notwithstanding the Emperor's best efforts all the rebellions in all the provinces were not crushed. Even after the turn of the century Kashmir, Afghanistan and Bengal still harboured numerous recalcitrants striving to regain their lost kingdoms. In regard to Hindu *Zamindārs* he does not seem to have ever realised the significance of their vascillations, given time and opportunity how exceedingly dangerous they could prove to be.

And yet what Emperor Akbar had accomplished in the course of fifty years of his reign was a remarkable feat. Apart from his conquests and consolidation, the mere fact that he encountered rebellious forces lined

up against him on as many as hundred and forty four occasions shows the tremendous and overwhelming odds agaist which he was working. Complete success in a vast Empire of Akbar's size can seldom be achieved specially when one is working under the medieval conditions of 16th century Hindustan. But the extent to which Emperor Akbar did succeed is equally rare.

Hamida Khatoon Naqvi

Incidents of Rebellions or Insubordination during the Reign of Emperor Akbar, 1556-1605

1. Rebellions of the Nobles

	The rebels.	Year	Place	Cause/from	Suppressed by	Outcome	Reference
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Shah Abul Ma'ali	963/1556		arrogance and contumacy		arrested but escaped	*A.N.* II. 15-17.
2.	Mirza Sulaiman	963/1556	Kabul	laid claimed to sovereignty	the imperial army	sustained defeat and left for Badakhshan	*A.N.* II. 22-26.
3.	Bairam Khan Khan Khanan	967/1560		became self willed and high handed	Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan and other *amirs*.	was defeated and evetually assasinated in Gujarat	*A.N.* II. 91-99. 100-01, 104, 112-13, 130-31.
4.	Adham Khan	968/1561	Malwa	began assuming independence	The Emperor	submitted	*A.N.* II. 140-43.
5.	Khan Zaman Ali Quli Khan	968/1561	Jaunpur	arrogance and presumptuousness.	The Emperor	submitted	*A.N.* II. 146-48.
6.	Munim Khan	969/1562	Left Agra for Kabul	Out of fear for having been a party to Adham Khan's intrigue.	Mir Mahmood's *Munshi* intercepted him.	brought back and was reinstated.	*A.N.* II. 179-80.

		3	4	5	6	7
7. Fazil Beg and Ghani Beg.	970/1563	Kabul	'disobedience and wickedness'	Munim Khan Khan Khanan	imperialists suffered setback.	*A.N.* II. 184-89.
8. Sultan Adam and his son Lashkar	970/1563	Ghakhar	disobedience insubordination.	imperial force	were crushed	*A.N.* II. 189-91.
9. Mir Sharafuddin Husain	970/1563	Nagar, Ajmer and Mirtha	unauthorised departure from the Court.	Husain Qara Beg	fled from the imperial territory	*A.N.* II. 195-96.
10. Shah Abul Ma'ali (acting in concert with M. Sharafuddin	971/	Jalaur	creating disturbance	Ahmad Beg and Sikander Beg.	fled to Kabul	*A.N.* II, 198-200.
11. Shah Abul Ma'ali	971/1564	Kabul	spreading disorder	M. Sulaiman of Badakhshan	was captured and strangled.	*A.N.* II. 204-07.
12. Abdullah Khan	971/1564	Malwa	misconduct, fear of punishment made him rebel.	Mir Muizzul Mulk, Muqim Khan, Muhammad Wasim Khan Nishapuri and others.	fled to Gujarat	*A.N.* II. 225-26.
13. Ali Quli Khan Zaman with brothers and Iskandar Khan Uzbeg	973/1565	Jaunpur	sedition	The Emperor	were suppressed	*A.N.* II. 248.54, 257-63.
14. Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	973/1565		attempted to assume independence	imperial forces	fled to Garaha	*A.N.* II 255-56.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Yusuf Muhammad Khan	980/1573	Gorakhpur	was preparing for strife.	Munim Khan Khan Khanan	truce was signed	*A,N*. III. 21.22,23.
16.	Sher Muhammad Diwana	973/1565	Samana	raising disturbance, killed the *faujdqrs' na'ib*, revolted.	Mulla Nuruddin Tarkhan the *faujdar*	was slain	*A.N.* II. 363-64.
17.	Mirza Muhammad Hakim	973/1565	Lahore	revolted	The Emperor	fled to Kabul at the Emperor's arrival	*A.N.* II. 273-77.
18.	Ma:um Khan Faran Khudi.	988/1580	Hajipur and Naunpur.	attempted independence.		siezed Hajipur	*A.N.* III. 321.
19.	Shahbaz Khan	988/1583	Patna	became presumptuous	Khan Azam and Raja Todar Mal		*A.N.* III. 324-25.
20.	Niyabat Khan	988/1580	Karah	sedition	Ismail Quli Khan, Abdul Mutallib and Syed Jamal.	sustained defeat, property plundered.	*A.N.* III. 327-28.
21.	Masoom Khan Farankhudi and Shahbaz Khan	9890/580	Jaunpur	sedition	Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Rajah Birbar	Masoom Khan fled, his family and effects seized.	*A.N.* III. 330-33 338-41.
22.	Masoom Khan Farankhudi	989/1581	Sambhal and Bareilly	sedition	imperial army	was defeated and dispersed.	*A.N.* III. 348-49
23.	Mirza Hakim	989/1581	Kabul insubordination		the Emperor	defeated and pardoned	*A.N.* III. 361-70.
24.	Masoom Khan Farankhudi	990/1582	Bahraich and Fatehpur			defeated and pardoned	*A.N.* III. 383.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Muhammad Yar	1002/1594	left Agra rebellious	became others.	Khairullah *kotwal* and	was made prisoner	*A.N.* III. 651.
26. Muzaffar Husain Mirza (Gulrukh Begam's son and Akbar's son in law)	1008/1600	Leaving Agra made for Gujarat	became refractory	Khwaja Waisi	captured and imprisoned	*A.N.* III. 770-71.
27. Prince Royol-Sultan Salim	1008/1602	Allahabad	formed evil designs	imperial Firman	did not comply with the orders.	*A.N.* II1. 773.
28. Prince Royal Sultan Salim	1008/1600	Ajmer, Udaipur and Allahabad	became self willed	Emperor's warnings through a *Firman*	submitted	*A.N.* III· 773.
29. Mirza Hasan the son of Mirza Shahrukh, in collusion with the Hazara tribes.	1011/1603	north of Qandhar	raised disturbance	Shah Beg Khan	was chastised and fled	*A.N.* III. 821.
30. Prince Royal Sultan Salim.	1013/1604	Allahabad	rebelliousness	The Emperor	captured, imprisoned then pardoned.	*A.N.* III. 82-30.

II Rebellions in the recently annexed provinces

The rebels	Year	Place	Cause/from	Suppressed by	Outcome	Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Sons of Sultan Mirza	975/1567	Malwa	stirred up strife	Shahab uddin Khan, Qalij Khan and Budagh Khan	repulsed and dispersed	*A.N.* II.330.31.
2. Ikhtiar ul Mulk, Etemad Khan and others	980/1572	Cambay	sedition	Shahbaz Khan	duly chastised	*A.N.* III.10.
3. Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Muhaammad Husain Mirza	980/1572	Baroda	sedition	The Emperor, Shahbaz Khan, Qasim Khan and Shah Quli Khan Maharam	fled on being repulsed	*A.N.* III.10,15.
4. Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza	930/1573	near Pattan	were causing commotion	Syed Mahmud Khan Barha, Shah Quli Khan Mahram Khan Azam with other imperial generals	rebels took to flight and order restored	*A.N.* III. 19.
5. Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, Shah Mirza and the Fuladians	980/1573	Pattan	confederates invaded Patan	Khan Azam with other imperial generals	were frightened and fled without engagement	*A.N.* III. 23-26.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Ibrahim Husain Mirza with brother Masood Mirza	980/1573	Jalor, Jodhpur and Nagor	raised disturbance	imperial officers	moved on to the Punjab	*A.N.* III. 34-36.
7. Muhammad Husain Mirza	981/1573	Surat	sedition	Qalij Khan, Qutubuddin Khan.	were repulsed	*A.N.* III. 42.
8. Muhammad Husain Mirza, Ikhtiar ul Mulk with his sons, and Sher Khan Fauladi.	981/1573	Cambay	raised disturbance	The Emperor	Muhamad Husain Mirza executed, Ikhtiar ul Mulk fled, Ibrahim Husain Mirza died in custody.	*A.N.* III. 59-88.
9. Junaid	982/1575	near Jahar—khand	raising tumult	Todar Mal	was defeated and took refuge in Jaharkhand	*A.N.* III. 119.
10. Muhammad Khan, Mahmood Khan and others	982/1575	Salimpur (in Bengal)	sedition	Todar Mal	were crushed	*A.N.* III. 20.
11. Yar Muhammad Arghun, Qarawal, Junaid and others	982/1575	near Jahar-khand	collected imperial property	Todar Mal	Yar Muhammad Arghun decapitated, others submitted	*A.N.* III. 120–27.
12. Haji, Ghazi brothers, Junaid and other Afghans	982/1575	near Jahar-khand	raised disturbance	Muzaffar Khan	defeated and routed	*A.N.* III. 134-35.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Afghans (of Bihar and Bengal)	983/1575	Nadela Gandak	became presumptuous	Muzaffar Khan	defeated and dispersed	*A.N.* III. 137-38.
14. Taj Khan Jalori and Rai of Sirohi	984/1576	Jalor and Sirohi	become contumacious	Tarson Khan, Rai Singh, Syed Hashim Barha	were brought to obedience. The Rai fled	*A.N.* III. 189-90. 196-170
15. Muzaffar Husain Mirza	985/1577	Gujarat	instigated by other disaffected ones he revolted	Todar Mal	Mihr Ali the ring leader was slain, others fled	*A.N.* III. 286-09. 214–16.
16. Muzaffar Husain Mirza	985/1577	Berar, Khandesh	again rose in rebellion	Maqsood Damba	taken captive and sent to the court	*A.N.* III. 233.
17. Leaders of the Baluchi tribes	986/1578	Baluchistan	contumacy	Md. Yusuf Khan, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Syed Hamid and others	were frightened anb sought forgiveness	*A.N.* III. 235-36
18. Ibrahim Narnol, Isa Khan and Shah Bardi and others	986/1578	Bengal	became rebellious	Shah Bardi (coming over to the king) and Muhammad Quli	accepted obedience	*A.N.* III. 259-60.
19. Baba Khan Jahbari, Wazir Jamil and many others	987/1579	Bengal	raised the dust of dissenssion	Mir Jamaluddin Husain, Razvi Khan, Timur Khan, Rai Patar Das and others	were crushed	*A.N.* III. 290-95.
20. Mirza Beg Qiqshal, and Hamzaban	937/1579	Tanda	stirred up strife	Khwaja Shamsuddhin, Mir Rafiuddin Nishapuri Wasim Ali Sistani	submitted after engagement	*A.N.* III. 299-305 307-08.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Arab Bahadur	988/1580	Hajipur	raised disturbance	Khan Azam and Shahbaz Khan	suffered defeat, family captured	*A.N.* III. 322-23, 323-25.
22. Khalisa	990/1582	Patna	became turbulent	Sadiq Khan	slain in battle	*A.N.* III. 388-89.
23. Noor Muhammad	991/1583	eastern provinces	caused disorder	Khan Azam's men	was executed	*A.N.* III. 395-400.
24. Masoom Khan Kabuli	991/1583	eastern provinces	became rebellious	Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Sadiq Khan and Sheikh Farid Bukhari	defeated and dispersed	*A.N.* III. 398-400.
25. Qatlu Lohani	991/1583	eastern provinces	stirred up strife	Shah Quli Khan Mahram and others	rebels were routed	*A.N.* III. 405-07.
26. Arab Bahadur	991/1583	Bihar	became turbulent	Khan Azam Koka	fled to the hill country	*A.N.* III. 408.
27. Etmad Khan and Muzaffar Gujarati (as Sultan)	991/1583	Gujarat	attempted to assume sovereignty of Gujarat	Syed Qasim and Syed Hashim	undecided	*A.N.* III. 409-413.
28. Masoom Khan Kabuli	991/1583	Tanda	bacame rebellious	Wazir Khan, Sheikh Ibrahim and Sheikh Farid Bakhshi and others	sustaining defeat they dispersed	*A.N.* III. 416-18.
29. Sher Khan Fauladi	991/1583	Gujarat	stirred up strife and raised a force to meet the imperialists	Shahabuddin Khan, Etemed Khan, Nizam Uddin Bakhshi	rebels dispersed	*A.N.* III. 618-19.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. Muzaffar Gujarati	992/1584	Gujarat	caused an uprising	Mirza Khan	rebles fled	*A.N.* III. 428-30.
31. Masoom Khan Kabuli, Qatlu Karrani and others.	992/1584	Bengal	sedition	Shahbaz Khan and Wazir Khan	submitted after sustaining defeat	*A.N.* III. 432-34, 435-36.
32. Saiyad Daulat	992/1584	Cambay	prevailed over the town	Mota Raja, Medini Rai, Mukat Man, Ram Sah and many others	rebels dispersed	*A.N.* III. 436-37.
33. Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati	992/1584	Pattan (Gujarat)	appearing from hills he set out towards Pattan	Abdur Rahim Khan Khan's army	rebels dispersed	*A.N.* III. 437.
34. Isa Khan, Masoom Khan Kabuli, and Datan Qaqshal	992/1584	Bengal	attempted to reconquer the imperial areas	Shahbaz Khan, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Ram Das and Khwajgi Fatehullah Khan	were overwhe—lmed and dispersed	*A.N.* III. 448-48.
35. Sultan Mazaffar Gujarati	993/1585	Gujarat	sedition	Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	was overpowered	*A.N.* III. 425-53. 55.
36. Masoom Khan Kabuli	993/1585	Bengal	tried to take advantage of dissension in the imperial forces	Shahbaz Khan	defeated and pushed out of the imperial territory	*A.N.* III. 459-60.
37. Isa Khan	993/1585	Bengal	caused disturbance	Shahbaz Khan, Wazir Khan	imperialists quelled the disturbance	*A.N.*III. 461-62.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. Kabul soldiers	993/1585	Kabul	at Mirza Hakim's death they defied the imperialists	Raja Man Singh	submitted out of fear	*A.N.* III. 466.
39. Sultan Muzaffar Gujarat	993/1585	Gujarat	sedition aimed at plunder of Ahmadabad as Khan Khanan had left for court	Khan Khanan's army	was pursued and his refuge was plundered	*A.N.* III. 471-72.
40. Kabulis	994/1585	Kabul	spread disturbance	Zain Khan Kokaltash and Hasan Khan Patani	were suppressed	*A.N.* III. 475-76.
41. Afghan rebels	994/1586	Bengal	were besti-rriug them-selves to rebellion	Shahbaz Khan	were curbed	*A.N.* III. 479.
42. Yaqoob	994/1586	Kashmir	became refractory	Qasim Khan	was repulsed	*A.N.* III. 502-06. 508-09.
43. Pathan tribes (Tarikis)	994/1586	Tirah, north of Kabul	increased their turbu-lance	Raja Man Singh	were punished	*A.N.* III. 512-14.
44. Yaqoob		Kish twar (Kashmir)	stirred up cammotion	Qasim Khan	was repulsed	*A.N.* III. 515-16.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45.	Muzaffar Gujarati, brother of Raja of Kachh, and other *Zamīndārs*	995/1587	Gujarat	strife mongers	Syed Wasim and Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi	were defeated thereupon they took to flight	*A.N.* III. 524.
46.	Yusuf Zais and Tarikis	995/1587	Kabul	took to robbery and wickedness	Zain Khan Koka, khwaja Shamsuddin and brother Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi	were not subdued	*A.N.* III. 225-26
47.	Muzaffar Arghun in concert with Hindu *Zamīndārs*	996/1588	Gujarat	became turbulent	Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi	escaped capture	*A.N.* III. 530
48.	Fateh Khan (Ibn Amin Khan Chori) and Muzaffar Gujarati.	996/1588	Gujarat	stirred up strife	Naurang Khan and Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi	were suppressed	*A.N.* III. 531.
49.	Kalu Khan	996/1588	went to Afghanistan	absconded from court after receiving favours	Zain Khan Kokaltash	their power was weakened	*A.N.* III. 532-33.
50.	Yusuf Zais	997/1588	Afghanistan	became refractory	Zain Khan Kokaltash	were kept in check while some of them were killed in the battle	*A.N.* III. 533.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51. Salih and other Afghans	997/1589	Fateh-pur (Hanswa)	caused disturbance	Mir Murad and the imperial army	surrendered	*A.N.* III. 534-35.
52. Quli Qalmaq and Kackeva	998/1590	Purnea, Tajpur (in Bengal)	stirred up strife and went about plundering	Jagar Singh	felt weak and fled	*A.N.* III. 576-77.
53. Hindal	998/1590	Pakii (Kash-mir)	assumed sovereignty	Badakhshani Aimags of the imperial army	was punished	*A.N.* III. 577.
54. Husain, Muhammad, Abu Zaid Ghazi and Lohan Chak	998/1590	Kashmir	left the court and rose in revolt	imperial army	were punished	*A.N.* III. 593.
55. Jamre, Muzaffar Gujarati and others	999/1591	Gujarat	rebelled	Khan Azam Kokaltash	were repulsed and dispersed	*A.N.* III. 593.
56. Nazak Be and others	999/1591	Gujarat and Malwa border	sedition	Khan Azam Kokaltash and Qalij Khan	his army dispersed, some generals slain and he was pardoned and sent to Bengal	*A N.* III, 600.
57. Jalala, Afridis and Yurak Zais	1000/1592	Tirah (Afgha-nistan)	stirring up strife	Qasim Khan	were having recourse to supplication	*A.N.* III. 607.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58. Afghans	1000/1592	Bengal	Bengal	Man Singh	They submitted	*A.N.* III. 615-16.
59. Yaqoob, Darvesh Ali, and Adil Beg	1000/1592	Kashmir	stirring up strife	Husain Beg and Qazi Ali	imperialists unsuccessful	*A.N.* III. 617-18.
60. Afghans	1000/1592	Afgha-nistan	rose in rebellion simul-taneously	Zain Khan Kokaltash	were overpowered	*A.N.* III. 625.
61. Muzaffar Gujarati and others	1000/1592	Gujarat	stirred up strife	Naurang Khan and Nizam-uddin Ahmad Bakhshi	committed suicide on being ceptured	*A.N.* III. 628-30
62. Muhammad Zaman and Hazaras jointly	1002/1594	Afgha-nistan	rebelled	Muhammad Hashim Khan	were suppressed	*A.N.* III. 625-30.
63. Isa Khan and Masoom Khan Kabuli	1000/1596	Bengal	caused commo-tion	Himmat Singh deputed by Man Singh	were routed	*A.N.* III. 714.
64. Bahadur (son of Mazaffar Gujarati) and a Hindu Zāmīndar	1005/1597	Gujarat	sedition	Raja Suraj Singh	were put to flight	*A.N.* III. 725.

			4	5	6	7
65. 'Some turbulent fellows...."	1088/1600	Kashmir	sedition	Ali Quli, Kalh Ali and other imperial officers	surrendered	*A.N.* III. 776.
66. Jalala and Tarikis	1008/1600	Ghazni	raised distur- bance, (apro- priati merchant's property)	Shedman Hazara and others	Jalala killed peace restored	*A.N.* III 776.
67 Rebels	1009/1600	Asirgarh	defiance of imperial authority	Allami Abul Fazl	retreated and fled in confusion	*A.N.* III. 777-78.
68. Shams Chak	1009/1601	Kashmir	sedition	imperial army	Killed by a fall from the top of a hill	*A.N.* III. 784.
69. Ali Khan ibn Wali Khan	1009/1601	Bidar	raised distur- bance	imperialists	submission not acceptable so they fled	*A.N.* III. 787.
70. Shuja (son of Masoom Khan Kabuli) and Said and others:	1009/1601	Bengal	rose in revolt	Raja Man Singh	surrendered	*A.N.* III. 788

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
71.	Sarwar Haqa-hi, Muha-mmad Khan Zangi, *Zmindārs* of Handia and others	1009/1601	Telin-gana	high price of provisi-n caused discontentment among the imperial soldiers. The evil doers gathered and raised distrubance	Allami Abul Fazl	crushed	*A.N.* III. 792.
72.	Son of Shah Ali	1009/1601		The Telingana commotion, desertion of the imperial soldiers, capture of Ali Mardan Bahadur and the marchig off of Akbar enabled him to rise in revolt	Allami Abul Fazl	was curbed	*A.N.* III. 793-94.
73.	Waknu	1009/1601	near Ahmadnagar	became rebellious	Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	submitted	*A.N.* III. 794-95.
74.	Son of Shah Ali with some malcontents	1010/1601	Telingana	rose in revolt	imperialists	had to agree to sign a peace treaty	*A.N.* III. 800.
75.	Sons of Shah Ali and Malik Barid	1010/1602	Ahmadnagar	sedition	Allami Abul Fazl	crushed	*A.N.* III. 805.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
76. Khudawand Khan the Abyssinian	1010/1602		stirred up strife	Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	crushed	*A.N.* III. 806.
77. Jalal of Kahakra	1010/1602	Bengal	spread disorder	Khwaja Baqar Ansari and Maha Singh	surrendered to Man Singh.	*A.N.* III. 808-809.
78. Raju	1011/1602	Ahmadnagar	contumacy	Khan Khanan's general Hasan Qalij	defeated, submitted and left the country	*A.N.* III. 810.
79. Ahad Dad, with the tribes of Afridis, Panri Suri and Uzak Zai	1011/1602	Tirah (Afghanistan)	stirred up strife	Hasan Qalij	defeated and left the country	*A.N.* III. 814-15.
80. Chak tribesmen	1013/1604	Kashmir	sedition	Muhammad Quli	sustained defeat then submitted	*A.N.* III. 835-36..

III. Rebellions of the Hindu Zamindars

The Rebels	Year	place	cause/from	suppressed by	outcome	reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Bahaduriya (a Rajput tribe of rebellious nature).	966/1558	Hatkant (near Agra)	revolted	Adham Khan	were chastised	*A.N.* II. 78.
2. Raja Ganesh *Zamindār*	969/1562	in the hills lying between Beas and Sutlej (in the Punjab	wished to extend his territory,	Khan Kalan and Qutubuddin Muhammad	sent to the Court, pardoned.	*A.N.* II. 169.
3. *Zamindār* of Dungarpur	981/1573	Dungarpur (in Gujarat)	became presumptuous	Man Singh	crushed	*A.N.* III. 40.
4. Rai Narain *Zamindār* (with Ikhtiarulmulk)	981/1573	Idar (in Gujarat)	sedition	Khan Azam	suppressed	*A.N.* III. 41.
5. Madhukar Bundela	981/1573	Urchha	sedition	Saiyads of Barha	were overpowered, defeated	*A.N.* III, 77-78.
6. Chander Sen	981/1574	Siwanah (in Ajmer(	became presumptuous	Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Rai Singh and others	Crushed Chander Sen submitted	*A.N.* III. 80-81.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Chander Sen and others	981/1574	Jodhpur		Taiyib Khan, Saiyed Beg Toqbai, Subhan Quli Turk Khurram, Azmat Khan and Siwa Das	Sen submitted	*A.N.* III. 110-111, 158-59, 167-68.
8.	Gajpati *Zmindār* with Junaid	984/1576	Arah (in Bihar)	spread disorder	Shahbaz Khan	Junaid slain, Gajpati disappeared, treaty signed	*A.N.* III. 168-69, 170, 185-86.
9.	Taj Khan Jalari and Deora Rai of Sirohi	984/1576	Jalor and Sirohi	contumacy		suppressed, the Rai fled	*A.N.* III. 189-90. 196-97.
10.	Rai Narain Das	984/1576	Idar (in Gujarat)	refractoriness	Qutubundin Khan, Raja Bhagwandas and Man Singh.	was chastised and the area cleared of the rebels.	*A.N.* III. 191.
11.	Dauda the *Zamindār*	985/1577	Bundi	raised disturbance	Zain Khan Kokaltash	sustained defeat, the fort of Bundi was captured	*A.N.* III. 201-08.
12.	Raja Madh-ukar	985/1577	Urchha	turbulence and disobedience.	Sadiq Khan	submitted, was sent to the Court.	*A.N.* III. 228-33-261
13.	Bhupat Chauhan	987/1579	Etawah	spread disorder	Azam Khan Kokaltash	was slain	*A.N.* III. 278-7.
14.	Dilpat Ujjainiya	988/1580	Jagdishpur (in Bihar)	became presumptu-ous	Azam Khan Kokaltash	was over-powered, Jagdishpur plundered	*A.N.* III. 323.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Son of Raja Bihari Ma!	988/1580	Luni (in the Punjab)	became presumptuous	Dastam Khan	crushed	*A.N.* III. 326-27.
16.	Madhu Singh *Zamiudār*	994/1586	Orissa	refractoriness	imperial army	submitted	*A.N.* III. 479.
17.	Hamir Jeet *Zamindār*	994/1586	Malwa	presumptuousness	Azam Khan Kokaltash	was slain	*A.N.* III. 490-91.
18.	Raja Basu	994/1586	The Punjab	refractoriness	Husain Beg Sheikh Umri, and others	frightened, so submitted	*A.N.* III. 510.
19.	Kala Sisudia	994/1586	Fatehpur sikri	absconded from the Capital	Salahuddin and Ram Chand	Killed in battle	*A.N.* III. 511-12.
20.	Madhukar	995/1587	Urchha	became presumptuous	Shahabuddin Khan	fled from the battle-field	*A.N.* III. 526-27.
21.	Hindu Zamindar concert with Muzaffar Arghun	996/1588	Gujarat	became turbulent	Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi	escaped capture, their country plundered.	*A.N.* III. 530.
22.	Puranmal Gidhar	998/1580	Bihar	became self willed and presumptuous	Raja Man Singh	surrendered	*A.N.* III. 576.
23.	Shaikawati Rajputs	998/1590	Mirtha and Koil	spreading disorder	Shah Quli	submitted and was forgiven.	*A.N.* III. 577.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Jam (satr sal), Muzaffar Gujarati and others.	999/1591	Gujarat	sedition and insubordination.	Khan Azam	repulsed and fled	*A.N.* III. 593.
25. Raja of Jammu and others.	1001/1592	northern mountains	became refractory	Qaj ųKhan's son and Zain Khan Koka	suppressed	*A.N.* III. 631.
26. Raja Easu and other *Zamindars*.	1005/1597	Mau	sedition	Mirza Rustam	strongholds occupied and area plundered	*A.N.* III. 726
27. Dilpat Ujjainiya	1007/1599	Hajipur	presumptuousness		submitted	*A.N.* III. 750.
28. Rulers of Mau and Jammu	1010/1602	Kashmir and the Punjab	spread disorder	Hasan Qalij and Jamil Beg	Jamil Beg with 50 others ws slain in battle	*A.N.* III. 803,804-05.
29. *Zamindars* Kadar and Magh	1012/1603	Bengal	contumacy	Raja Man Singh	sustained defeat	*A.N.* III. 824,

Table IV

The rebels	Year	Place	Cause/from	Suppressed by	Outcome	Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Villagers oi Athagarh	969/1562	Sakit near Agra	their trubulence and refractoriness	The Emperor	crushed	*A.N.* II. 163-65.
2. Sundary malcon-tents	974/1567	Allahabad and Benaras	stirred up strile	The Emperor	crushed	*A.N.* II. 286-97.
3. General public	985/1577	Agra district	spread disorder	Qasim Khan	submitted	*A.N.* III. 231.
4. Mir Mui-zzul Mulk and Maulana Muhammad Yazdi	988/1581	Jaunpur	raised tumult; sedition	Azad Khan Turkman	sent to court in chains	*A.N.* III. 309.
5. Rana Partap	992/1584	Chittor	spreading distur-bance	Jagannath	not decisive	*A.N.* III. 759-61.
6. Some offi-cials and village leaders of Bir.	1007/1599	Berar	rose in rebellion	Allami Abul Fazl and Sher Khwaja	were routed	*A.N.* III. 759-61.

SIDELIGHTS INTO IDEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES IN THE PUNJAB DURING THE 17TH CENTURY*

A few years ago the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, acquired from a dealer in Amritsar a unique MS entitled *Tazkira-i Pir Hassu Taili.* It is a metrical work, comprising some 7,000 verses, all in the same metre, except the chapter-headings which have a separate metre of their own. The MS is written on good paper in excellent hand, carefully revised and corrected, and has all the marks of an autograph of the author. While the author is obviously a versifier, rather than a poet (no poet would write 7,000 verses in the same metre), he has a scholar's kuowledge of Persian and his spellings are impeccable.

But the very prosaic character of the work contributes to its real historical value. It is the work of a minor revenue official of the Punjab, a Brahman himself; and it is about Muslim oilman and porter who became a minor local saint. It not only gives us a glimpse into the religious stirrings and petty obscurantism that were generated among the educated and ordinary people at this time, but also furnishes us with an excellent view of the ethical concepts of the Mughal-period "petty-bourgeoisie", the small officials and traders.

Before analysing the interesting historical material contained in this work, it would be obviously convenient to offer, in a short compass, some information about the saint, his disciples, and the author and his family, as we can glean it from this work.

Hassu Taili, 'Hassu, the oilman,' or to give his proper Arabicised name; Hasan 'Assar, was born at an unknown date, sometime in the 16th century, at Makhiwal, on the bank of the Chenab. His father bore the name Shaikh Chandu Taili and his mother, Maili. He had an elder brother Shaikh Taru; and a sister of his named Piyari is also mentioned.[1] It may be mentioned in passing that in the old Punjab, the Tailis or oilmen were a wholly Muslim caste.[2]

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1. *Tazkira Pir Hassu Taili (TPHT)*, ff. 68a-b, 89a-b.

2. Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, 324.

A critical change in Hassu's life came when he was twelve. His brother gave him Rs. 12/- to go to a village to buy sesame. On the way he met one of the (living) "nine naths of Gorakhnath". The latter recognised in him his 61st disciple, the premier of all, who had spent eighty-two years in severe austerities before his birth in the Taili's house.[1] Hassu now embarked on his career as a saint, He went to Lahore where he worked as a porter (*hammal*)[2]. Subsequently, the saint became a grain merchant, and opened a grain-store at "Lohari mandi",[3] his devout admirer paints him a merchant of a curious type. Knowing everything about future prices, yet buying dear and selling cheap.[4] He died at Lahore in A. H. 1011/A.D. 1603 at the alleged age of 120 years.[5] His tomb still survives, an object of some veneration; and so too is the spot remembered where he used to sell his grain.[6]

To his death Hassu Taili appears to have remained formally a Muslim, though he did not follow the five basic observances of Islam. For this latter, our author has ready explanations: He prayed all the time, so why should he have prayed in public? Why should he have paid *zakat*, or kept daily fasts when he never had anything stored up, or never broke his fast? Why should he have gone to Hajj, to go round the *Ka'ba*, when he went round the *Ka'ba* of his heart hundred times in one breath?[7] His chief disciple, Shaikh Kamal, used the term *malamatiya* to designate his master's school.[8] This was apt since the *malamatiyas* were a group of Muslim *sufis*, who in order not to appear pious, used to avoid all the observable attributes of piety. Like many *sufis*, he ate no meat.[9]

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1. *TPHT*, ff. 89a-90b.
2. Ibid, ff. 90b, 99a.
3. Ibid, f. 47b.
4. *TPHT*, f. 12a-b.
5. Ibid, f. 100b. Latif says that Pir Hassu Taili "died in 1002 A. H. (1593 A.D.) four years after the death of Aurangzeb." (Latif, *Lahore*, 202-203). This statement of Latif is palpably wrong.
6. Latif, *Lahore*, 202-203. Latif says his shop "still exists in Chowk Jhanda".
7. *TPHT*, f. 12b.
8. Ibid, f. 102a.
9. Ibid, f. 36a.

But it is obvious that Hassu Taili's sight were set farther than the *malamatiyas*. While not disowning his Islamic connexions, his freedom from Islamic observances was fully in accord with the claim, made at least on his behalf by his disciples, that he had similar connexions with non-Muslim sects. We have already seen that he was supposed to be in the line of the Naths of Gorakhnath.[1] For the benifit of such followers of his as had faith in Guru Nanak, he could be held to be an incarnation of Nanak himself.[2]

With these credentials, Pir Hassu Taili could claim allegiance from men of various sects. In his court all the 84 Siddhas were present; "Gorakhnath's teacher, Tirathnath", had come as a servant before the Pir.[3] Or again, the Brahmans could not recite the 18 Puranas and 4 Veads without his leave, and the Jogis had become his followers. As for Muslims, the Saiyids had given the reins of their faith into his hands. In short, Muslims and Hindus had all accepted his bondage, and recited his name day and night [4] The Landed aristocrates, the Rai, Rana and *zamindars* all owed allegiance to Pir Hassu and he was respected by them.[5]

Quoting such exaggerated claims is relevant here only in so far as it indicates the diversity of composition of Hassu's disciples. This diversity will become still more apparent if we have a look at the principal disciples that he left behind.

His chief disciple was Shaikh Kamal. His original name was Ayyub Qureshi (Surat Singh's explanation of this name is that since Abu Bakr was known as Siddiq, so Ayyub was Kamal !). He belonged to Darbela in Sind.[6] The profession of his father is not stated, but he had apparently an educated background. Among other prominent disciples was Shaikh Dula, an indigo-merchant; Abdul Karim, a sweeper; Shaikh Isa and Shaikh Hamid.[7]

Among Hindu disciples were Asa Karan, Ganpat Das, Ram

1. Ibid, ff. 89a-90b; see also f. 178a.
2. Ibid, f. 159a-159b.
3. *TPHT*; ff. 69a-b.
4. Ibid, ff. 70a-71a; 75a-b; ff. 45b-46a.
5. Ibid, f. 75a.
6. *TPHT*, ff. 72b-74b.
7. Ibid, ff. 93a-b, 94b; 68a-b; 23a-b; 24b-25a.

Rangi, and Bayagdas "Ramayya" (a title given to him by Hassu), both the last named being Brahmans; and Chajju Bhagat a trader.[1]

Similarly mixed composition is seen in the list of disciples of Shaikh Kamal: Fateh Muhammad, Hasan Hafiz, Shah Mir, Haji Muhammad Lohar, Shaikh Husain, Khwaja Sodanand, Kalyan, Mana, Jagga, Bhagwati, Sarichand (Qanungo), Nihal Chand, Jethmal (a goldsmith), Raghunath, Ganesh, Bhakt Gawali Rai, Gopal Brahman, Nand Rai, Rai Basant', Khwaja Hari Chand, Bayagdas Puri, Girdhar Pandit, etc.[2]

The author, Surat Singh's own family's allegiance was to Shaikh Kamal, and through him to Hassu Taili.[3]

Surat Singh was born at the town of Natesar in the *pargana* of Patti Hibatpur (now Patti in District Amritsar). All the men of the town were merchants and belonged to the Kamboj sect (*firqa*) (of the Brahman caste ?). Surat Singh too belonged to this sect. His father was Duni Chand, son of Jogidas; and he had an elder brother Khwaja Ganga Ram. Both Ganga Ram and Surat Singh took to the bureaucratic profession.[4] Ganga Ram served as *amil* of Jahangirpur,[5] and subsequently was appointed as *Khan-i Saman* in the *Sarkar* of Saf Shikan Khan but resigned that post.[6] Later on he was appointed as *Khan-i Saman* in the *Sarkar* of Aqil Khan.[7] Surat Singh was appointed as *Karkun* in Bhatinda and remained there till the time of the writing of his work (A.H. 1054—57/A.D. 1644—47).[8]

Surat Singh's interest in Persian poetry was more than casual, for he refers to a poetical session at Agra where he was present with some other notable poets of the time including Chandrabhan Brahman and Shaida.[9] It was Ganga Ram, who was obviously the more religiously inclined of the two, for he left his home and joined the Baira-

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1. Ibid, ff. 159a, 44a, 43a-b.
2. *TPHT*, ff. 173-174.
3. Ibid, ff. 54b, 173-174.
4. Ibid. ff. 181, 182a; see also ff. 121-122 and 254.
5. Ibid, ff. 122-122.
6. *TPHT*, ff. 162a-b.
7. Ibid. ff. 163-164.
8. Ibid. ff. 155a, 182b.
9. Ibid, f. 86b.

gis; but he later took allegiance to Shaikh Kamal[1], and Surat Singh followed suit.

As we have said in the beginning, Surat Singh's work is of value not as a great exposition of spiritual experience but as a window into the mind of a man of his class in the 17th-century Punjab. Here was a Brahman, with a mercantile and bureaucratic background, by his caste familiar with the orthodox creed of his faith, but by his Persian education familiar equally with the Islamic tradition. He is at once a supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity and of the separation of the two traditions. It is quite natural for him to begin with the praise of God and then of Prophet Muhammad; in terms that any Muslim would find acceptable. He wants Hindus and Muslims to live together in amity, but he insists that they should keep to their own customs. Indeed he is suspicious of Hindus behaving like Muslims. He praises Shahjahan for his justice and the protection extended by him to Muslims and Hindus alike. That emperor found the Hindus and Muslims "mixed" (*makhalut*)[2] and not following their own separate paths. Shahjahan, however, remedied this by putting them in their respective ways. In this connexion the author himself decries those Hindus who secretly do the sinful things that Muslims do, while they put on the *tika* and sacred thread in public.[3]

There is also no explicit rejection of the caste system, though it does seem remarkable that a man of Surat Singh's stamp should without any inhibition state the low castes and lowly professions of his favourite saint and some of his principal followers. For this, perhaps, the traditional Indian view that religious men ought to be poor (popularised in particular by the Nath Jogis to whom Surat Singh appears attached), and also the general atmosphere created by the Bhakti and Sufi movements of the 15th and 16th centuries, ought to be held responsible. However, there is never any suggestion of inter-dining among Hassu Taili's disciples. Thus in Surat Singh's mind there seems to be little wrong in the caste system and its separatist customs. Here his attitude is quite different from that of Guru Nanak and his followers who sprang from the same soil.

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1. *TPHT*, ff. 54b, 122b-123.
2. *TPHT*, f. 101a.
3. Ibid, f. 108b.

Surat Singh obviously continues to have many of the customary inhibitions of his community. Thus he has a great horror of cow-laugter and applauds Akbar and Jahangir for prohibiting it (presumably, in the Punjab).[1] He thus furnishes us with a fact not previously known to us. It is difficult to second him in similarly applauding Hassu Taili's curse, when an Afghan admirer served him beef. For this curse is alleged to have brought about a general famine.[2]

The human sympathies of Surat Singh and his saint are also rather limited. To him the *khalq* (creatures of God) to be saved are either those who owe allegiance to his saint or belong to his class or community thus he records among the miracles of Hassu, one in which the saint, having accepted a very petty *nazar* (offering) from a Hindu banker who had squandered the deposit left with him by a 'Mughal', and who expected the Mughal to come any day with a *farman* to secure repayment, protected the defalcater by invoking divine aid in getting the Mughal robbed of that precious document.[3] Or, when a corrupt revenue official was expecting dismissal and punishment, after having shown indifference to Shaikh Kamal, Surat Singh came forward to help him, once he had offered his allegiance to that saint, in getting the tell-tale village papers burnt and replaced by others.[4]

It is also interesting that a number of the miracles of Hassu Taili are concerned not with feeding and helping the utter destitute, but nobles and merchants. It is obvious that to Surat Singh, Hassu Taili appears in the best light when by his prayers, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan conquers Sind or succeeds in ihe Deccan,[5] or Abul Fazl is saved from an illness, or Akbar and Jahangir are reconciled,[6] etc. In a number of other miracles merchants are concerned. How Hassu Taili causes one boat of merchants to flounder and saves another;[7] how, invoked in time, he saves a

1. *TPHT*, f. 36b.
2. Ibid, ff. 36a-36b.
3. *TPHT*. f. 17.
4. Ibid, 22a.
5. *TPHT*, ff. 13a-13b, 14b-15a, 23b-33a, 91b.
6. Ibid, ff. 41a 41b, 49b, 23b-24a.
7. Ibid, ff. 43a-43b.

carvan from fire;[1] how again, he enables Lahore merchants in the deccan to earn high profits when they go to him (or rather his apparition) there.[2]

His own view of Hassu Taili is not that of an essentially kindly saint; but kindly now, and fearful in his punishment the next moment. A *Kotwal*, asked for a *nazar*, sends a very petty amount, and so loses his life.[3]

The *nazar*, is a very important vehicle of saintly protection. Once accepted, even the criminal is sure of protection. The *nazar* has value as index of the sincerity of the devotee, for the saint himself has no need of *nazar*.[4]

Beside being of value in itself for telling us of a minor religious movement in the Punjab, and indicating the ideological outlook to which it appealed, Surat Singh's work contains some important historical information as well.

For one thing, it shows beyond doubt that Guru Nanak's religious status was widely accepted in the Punjab, even by Hindus and Muslims who were not followers of the contemporary Guru. Surat Singh describes how Nanak when he died was claimed by men of both religions and in order to satisfy them, he left behind two bodies.[5] His other references to Nanak also show his own deep feeling for him as a teacher: He refers to his great verses.[6] But it would be obvious from the foregoing that his own ideas were far too orthodox: he would prefer the obscurantism of Hassu Taili to the liberating message of Nanak.

An interesting piece of imformation in the present work relates to the prohibition of tobacco. Pir Hassu appeared in a dream to Abdul Karim to warn him against use of tobacco.[7] Since tobacco smoking became common in India during Jahangir's reign, the ban on it in the religious sects of the 16th century seems to have come almost spontaneously. The ban came in Sikhism, and the Kabirpanthis and

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1. Ibid, ff. 22a-22b.
2. Ibid ff. 42a-b, 43a.
3. Ibid, ff. 18b-19a.
4. *TPHT*, f. 22a.
5. Ibid, ff. 122a-123a.
6. *TPHT*, ff. 142b, 143b, 159a-b.
7. Ibid, f. 134a.

was present in the Satnami sect when it arose in Narnaul at the middle of the 17th century. By the mechanism of a dream it also percolated among the followers of Hassu Taili. It is noteworthy that the more orthodox Muslims did not concider tobacco smoking a religious vice.

The work contains certain details about Mughal administration. I have already elsewhere referred to the interesting material it contains about the officials and the mode of procedure in the establishments of nobles.[1] From the long passage concerning the revenue collector of Jahangirpur, it appears that the *amin* used to check the records of the *amil* by a direct examination of the village *patwaris'* papers.[2]

Not to be overlooked is a valuable reference to the famine of 1574-75, so far only dimly mentioned in Persian sources.[3] Known as the Battisiya (from Samwat 1632) it was very severely felt in the entire region from Burhanpur and Gujrat to Lahore, Multan and Kashmir.[4]

Surat Singh's work is thus an important historical document. To the modern reader Surat Singh's intellectual horizons and human sympathies may appear rather limited, and his favourite saint and spiritual guide very sectarian, more concerned with allegiance to themselves than with merit and works. But in spite of all this, we ought not to ignore the importance of a religious sect so prominently drawing its disciples from amongst both Hindus and Muslims, and declaring its connexion with ascetic and mystic predecessors in both religions. Our irritation at the obscurantist elements in Pir Hassu Taili may be tempered further by consideration of their working class origins which they made no attempt to hide.

I hope that this paper will excite interest among historians both of religious and regional history, to study this work and make proper use of its evidence.

M. Athar Ali

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1. See my book, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1966, p. 162.
2. *TPHT*, ff. 112a-112b.
3. These sources refer to a severe famine in Gujarat, but only an expected drought in Northern India, the dangrr being however, omitted by timely showers. (Cf. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963, p. 101 & n)
4. Ibid, ff. 36a-36b.

MERCHANT SHIPPING IN INDIA DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Elsewhere, we have collected information on shipbuilding in India during the 17th century;[1] here an attempt is being made to enquire into the internal organisation of the 17th century Indian merchantmen and other allied aspects.

Our information on the Indian shipping for the period is quite scanty. While there is very little in the Persian sources, European accounts too do not shed much light[2], though they are helpful on a number of points. Logs and records of Indian ships have not survived, and so there is nothing corresponding to what we get for the ships of the European Companies, such as, the number and names of the officers and crew, their victuals, items of goods aboard, and dates of sailings and voyages. However, from different scraps of evidence, it is possible to reconstruct a tentative description of the way an Indian ship was manned and managed.

I

The number of crew or seamen carried on the Indian ships varied according to the size of the vessel.[3] Generally, the ships required officers and men of twelve categories with diverse functions,[4] many of them having assistants and attendants under them. The twelve categories of the crew and their functions are given below:[5]

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1. See A.J. Qaisar, 'Shipbuilding in the Mughal Empire during the Seventeenth century', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* Vol. V, No. 2, June 1968.
2. Even a keen observer like Abbe Carre, while comparing the merits of the English and French ships' internal organisation, leaves out similar details of the Indian ships (Abbe Carre, a French traveller, came to India in the second half of the seventeenth century). See *Travels of Abbe Carre*, (three volumes), Hakluyt Society Second series, London, 1947.
3. *Ain-i Akbari* (Text), Blochmann's ed., II, p. 202.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 202-3.
5. *ibid. (ain-i Mir bahri)*.

(1) the *nakhuda*, the master or the commander of the ship; often he was the owner of the ship, and directed or fixed her course;

(2) the *mu'allim* (pilot). He knew the art of taking soundings and taking position by astronomical observation, and piloted the ship;

(3) the *tandīl*, or the head of the *khalasis (mallāhs* or sailors);

(4) The *nakhuda khasb.* His job was to supply firewood or fuel and fodder to the passengers; he also helped in lading and unlading the ship;

(5) the *sarhang* (mate) supervised the docking and landing of the ship, and often acted for the *Mu'allim;*

(6) the *bhandārī* (Steward) had the charge of the ship's stores;

(7) The *Karrānī* was the accountant of the ship *(bitikchī)*, and also provided (fresh) water to the passengers;

(8) the *sukkāngīr*, or helmsman, who steered the ship on the *Mu'allim's* advice. There were sometimes twenty men working under him;

(9) the *panjarī*, whose duty it was to look out from the top of the mast, and give information when he saw land or a ship, or discovered an imminent storm, etc.,

(10) the *gumtī* was of the *khalasi* class, whose duty it was to throw out the water which had leaked through the ship;

(11) the *top andāz* (gunner). Their number varied with the size and needs of the ships; and finally,

(12) the *khārwah*, or common seamen, who were engaged in setting and furling of the sails, stopping the leaks, and setting free the anchor when it stuck fast.

It is difficult to determine the total number of sailors on an Indian ship. However, there is one instance which gives us some idea about the actual number of the sailors on an Indian ship. In 1612, Downton found out that an Indian ship of 140 'tunnes' had 75 persons, out of which 32 were the main members of the crew—20 'to bale water', 8 'for the Helme', and 4 for 'top and yard'. There were 20 boys for 'dressing severall mens victualls', and the rest 'Merchants and Pilgrims.'[1]

1. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, III, pp. 281-82. For the English ships, see K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company*, 1965 p. 105.

A few observations are called for here. It will be seen that there was no provision for a physician or a cook as extra hands, while the Europeans always provided for these.[1] The duty of the *nakhuda-khasb* in providing fuel to the passengers indicates that the latter had to cook their own food. We do not know much about the victuals of the sailors except that they usually took salt-fish, rice, *ghee* and *dal*.[2] Provision of fodder was obviously meant for the animals, especially the horses. a frequent article of oversea import to India. One does not know whether the ship's stores under the *bhandārī* could also be utilised by the passengers, or, were meant for the crew only. It should also be noted that special arrangement was made for fresh water in the ships, but it is inexplicable as to why the *Karrani* (the ship's accountant) should have been entrustsd with this task!

It may be mentioned in passing that fresh water was stored aboard an Indian ship differently from the way it was in a European ship. Unlike the Europeans, the Indians do not appear to have kept water in casks, but "instead of caske (which are ever out of repaire), we here use tanks, or great vessells made of good thicke planke, that reach from the lower decke to the bottom of the hold, placed amidshipps, that contayne 15, 20 or more butts apeece, according to the bignes, of the vessell, that is built and placed on both sides..."[3] Fresh water being a very necessary item on a ship, the sailors and passengers must have sometimes faced the problem of providing the same when the stock ran out while the ship was on the high seas, far away from the ports of call. We do not know what the Indians did, but the English seem to have used an 'Engine' (boiler) to make salt water fresh. 'with all other Materials thereunto belonging'. This was pretty costly, £50 per 'Engine'.[4] As to the throwing out the leaked water, it seems to have been done manually with buckets,[5] for

1. Chaudhuri, *op. cit*, p. 105; Abbe Carre, III, p. 680.
2. Charles Lockter, *An Account of the Trade in India*, London, 1711, p. 258. (Microfilm in the department of History, A. M. U.). For butter, see *purchas*, III, p. 284.
3. Cf. *The English Factories in India* (henceforth *E.F.*), ed. Foster, 1968-69, p. 79. Also Cf. Lockter, *op. cit.*
4. Shafaat Ahmad, Khan, *Sources of the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1926, p. 272. (The evidence is from the *India Office Marine Records*, Miscellaneous, No. XXVII, part I).
5. In 1612, twenty persons were engaged 'to bale water' on a ship of 140 'tunnes' which appears to have been done manually with buckets, (See *Purchas*, III, p. 282).

no mechanical device is reported to have been used by the Indians[1] such as the iron 'chain pumps' of the English;[2] the Chinese seamen even in the 16th century have been reported to clear the water by using the wooden square-pallet chain pump, worked by one man.[3] That the Indians had guns mounted on their merchantships, is attested to by various sources[4]. Apart from the guns, they also knew the use of what was called the 'grappling irons'.[5]

✓The *A'in-i Akbari* gives a long list of the wages paid to the crew.[6] According to the *A'in*, the amount of their wages varied, and depended on the voyage, or *Kosh*,[7] as the seamen called it. It appears that the crew was paid not on a monthly basis as in the European ships,[8] but per voyage. Some points have been left unexplained by Abul Fazl: first, we do not know whether a voyage, or *Kosh*, involved any known number of days or months to be completed against the fixed wages; secondly, there is no indication of the distance to be covered, or even the course of the

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1. In 1612 Muqarrab Khan, the 'governor' of Surat and Cambay, is reported to have asked the English for providing him with a model of a 'chaine pumpe' used by the English sailors to throw out the leaked water. We do not know whether his request was complied with or not. In any case, there is no positive evidence to show that the Indian sailors employed any mechanical device in this connection. (See *Purchas*, III, p. 264.)
2. *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, III, pp. 297-98.
3. Cf. The account of Cruz in *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. C. R. Boxer, Hakluyt Society, 1953, p. 121. Professor Needham calls it "Square-pallet chain pump". (See Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 4, Part II, Cambridge, 1965, 339 ff).
4. A.J. Qaisar, *op. cit.*
5. It was an implement for grappling or laying hold a ship. (*Cf. Oxford Engish Dictionary*, 1933, Vol. IV, *s.v.* Grapple and Grappling). The Persian sources speak of it and called it *chilak-hai ahni* more or less paraphrasing of grappling-irons. Cf. Abul Fazl Mamuri, *Tarikh-i Alamgiri* (continuation of Sadiq Khan's *Tarikh-i Shah Jahani*), Br. Mus. or. 1671, (Rotograph in the Dept. of History, A.M.U.,) f. 188a. Also, Khafi khan, *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, Vol. II, part II, Bib. Ind., p. 422.
6. *Ain*, II, p. 203.
7. This Word is not traceable in the dictionaries in the naval context.
8. Chaudhuri, pp. 105-6. The European sailors were often given their salary for two and even six months in advance. Cf. *The Life of the Icelander Jon Olafsson*, Vol. II, Hakluyt, Society, Series II, Vol. LXVIII, p.29. Also, Abbe Carre, III, p. 683.

voyage i. e., whether it was to be in the South-eastern Asian waters, the Indian Sea, the Persian Gulf, or the Red Sea. It should be noted that the wages of each member of the crew varied with reference to the port from where the voyage initially originated. The list of the wages is complete in respect of 12 categories of the crew at the port of Satgaon (Bengal), but for the ports of Khambayat (Cambay) and Lahori (Bandar), it gives the wages of the *nakhuda* only; for the rest it just states that the other men received wages 'in the same proportion'. Also, while referring to the wages at ports outside India, the *'Ain* only gives those of the *nakhuda*, but the wages are in certain proportion of those current in 'southern harbours', not known to us;[1] only in two instances, the proportions are in the context of the wages of the *nakhuda* at Cambay. The *'A'in's* list is tabulated as below (Tables A & B):—

Table A

Satgaon	Khambayat	Lahri bandar
1. *Nakhuda:* Rs. 400 plus 4 balanj[2] (cabins)	Rs. 800	Rs. 300
2. *Mu'allim:* Rs. 200 plus 2 cabins	The other men 'in the same proportion'.	
3. *Tandil:* Rs. 120		
4. *Karrani:* Rs. 50 plus one cabin		
5. *Nakhuda-Khasob:* Rs. 30.		
6. *Sarhang:* Rs. 25.		
7. *Sukkangir, Panjari & bhandari* 7 8 & 9 (each): Rs. 15.		
10. Gumti: Rs. 10.		
11. Kharwah: Rs. 40 plus his daily food		
12. *degandāz* (gunner): Rs. 12.		

1 By 'southern harbours', does Abul Fazl mean Satgaon and Bengal ports?

2. The word, balanj, means a cabin on a ship. It has been misread by Blochmann

Table B

Achin	Portugal (Goa?)	Malaccas	Pegu & Dhanasari
Nakhuda:—			
'half as much again as in southern harbours'.	'two and a half as much again.'	"twice as much again"	"half as much again as in Cambay"
Boatmen on rivers had wages varying from 100 to 500 *dams* per month.			

The difference in the wages of the *nakhuda* at Satgaon, Cambay and Lahori Bandar is difficult to explain satisfactorily. Could it have been due to the brisk commercial traffic in the Cambay region that the *nakhuda* there was paid the highest remuneration? In that case, the wages would indicate the comparative volume of commerce in these areas. But then, it must be shown that the commercial activity at Lahori Bandar was at such a low ebb so as to warrant only Rs. 300. Another factor that one could guess would be the availability of experienced and skilled persons to work as *Nakhuda* at these ports.

Assignment of cabins *(balanj)* in addition to the cash-salary seems to have been an acknowledged tradition in India, though generally

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(Foot note) contd. from page 199

as *malikh*. (Cf. *Ain, op. cit.*, II, p. 203: also see Blochmann's translation, p. 291). Sir Syed's edition of the *Ain*, on account of bad printing, gives either *yalkh* or *malikh* (see p. 164). Syed Suleman Nadvi, in his monograph *Arabon ki jahaz rani*, Azamgarh, 1935, gives a list of foreign words used by the Arab sailors wherein he mentions the word *balanj*, giving its meaning as the 'cabin' of a ship. (pp. 18-19). Unfortunately he does not indicate the source of his information. A tenth century sea-adventure book in Arabic, *Ajaib-al Hind*, uses the word *balanj*, though mostly written in the work as *balij*. The author was Buzurg bin Shahriyar. I have consulted its edition and translation by Lith & Devic, Leide, 1886. The relevant pages are 33,94,141,142, and p. 194 for the editors' note. (I am thankful to Professor Maqbool Ahmad for suggesting me to consult Shahriyar's work). It is very likely that the manuscript of the *Ain* consulted by Blochmann had the word spelt as *balij*, very easy to be misread as *malikh*. This is confirmed by the two manuscripts of the *Ain* consulted by us which give *balij* (Cf. Br. Mus. or 7552, f. 89*a* and Or. 7652, f. 103b.) Microfilm in the Dept. of History, AMU).Also see G.F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 1951; p. 98.

cabins were given only to the *nakhuda*, *mu'allim* and *karrani*. It simply meant the privilege of carrying goods or passengers, freight-free, by which according to Abul Fazl, they profited greatly. The practice was prevalent among the Europeans too, though in a modified form: the European crew was not allowed to carry any merchandise of the same kind as those of their company.[1] Whenever the Indians engaged European seamen for their ships, they gave them the privilege to carry freight-free goods besides their cash-salaries.[2] The *nakhuda* also received minor customary presents from the passengers (e. g. clothes etc) when, after a long duration on the high seas, land was sighted.[3]

It should be noticed that the wages of the *tandil*, the chief of the *khalasis*, was more than double that of the *Karrani*, the ship's accountant, who was obviously an educated person. Perhaps he was compensated for this by being given one cabin. The *kharwahs*, most of whom must have been carpenters and shipwrights, too enjoyed a good wage of rupees forty plus their daily food. The *Sarhang's* wages (Rs. 25) seem to be too low, though he is said to have taken the place of the *mu'allim* at times.

Any comparison of the European seamen's emoluments with those of their Indian counterparts is not possible since the basis of payment were dissimilar - the Indians were paid per voyage, while the Europeans per month. Nevertheless, a passing reference will not be out of place. During the first half of the 17th century, the master or captain of an English ship received £10 or £7 per month (Rs. 88 or 62), while the chief mate £ 4 p. m. (Rs. 35).[4] It is suprising that the common English sailors got a very meagre wage—£5 (Rs. 44) *per annum!*[5] In about 1620 the Indians procured the services of the English navigators for their ships and paid the captain from £ 10 to 15 (Rs. 88 to 133), the mates from £6 to 9 (Rs. 53 to 80), and also the usual "Privilege of carrying some goods and merchandizes, Freight free".[6] Here two points emerge:

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1. Carre, III, pp. 683-84.
2. Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, ed. Foster, I, p. 133.
3. Carre, III, p. 796.
4. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
6. Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 133. (Taking a rupee in this period as equal to 2 sh. 3 d., see Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 1923, p. 329).

a) the Indians paid the English sailors employed by them on a monthly basis in contrast to their own countrymen who got their wages per voyage; b) the English sailors' wages by 1690, in India, rose a little higher as compared to the first half of the 17th century. The *A'in* was written at the close of the 16th century, and since we do not get evidence on the Indian seamen's wages during the following century, we are not in a position to determine whether there was a rise in their wages also. Again, we cannot show whether the basis of payment remained the same, or changed as a result of the influence of the European practice.[1]

The reputation of the Indian sailors does not appear to be very high.[2] Manrique refers to the 'poor physique' of the Indian pilots and sailors who 'soon collapsed' due to the rigours of a long voyage from Goa to Japan *via* Manila.[3] Nevertheless, the Malabaris were acclaimed as the best sailors in India, and Akbar is said to have made special efforts to procure them.[4] Since the Indians knew the local coastal conditions more than the Europeans, the latter often consulted them for the better piloting of their ships on the coast.[5] On the other hand, the Indians, according to Hamilton, 'had a very great Regard for the Courage, conduct, and art of Navigation of the English, above any other European Nation in India,"[6] and for these reasons they were employed by the Indian ship-owners. Fryer says that in "long voyage they employ Europeans to navigate their vessels".[7] Another motive, perhaps, for their employment was that their presence on the Indian ships might deter other European seamen from molesting them. Occasionally, the Europeans too did not hesitate to employ reputed Indian pilots.[8] The

1. We find a reference to the Indians aboard a ship of a wealthy Surat Merchant, who did not want to hazard "their Lives for four Roupies a Month" by fighting against an English ship when attacked by her. (See Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat*, ed. Rawlinson, Oxford, 1929, p. 239).
2. Cf. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, ed. Crooke, 1925, p. 5; Fryer, *A New Account of East Asia etc.*, Hakluyt Society, I, p. 74.
3. Manrique, II, Hakluyt Society, p. 28.
4. *Ain*, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
5. *Letters Received*, ed. Danvers, V, p. 191; For consultation with 'Nockeda Indegree', see E.F, 1624-25, p. 72.
6. Hamilton, p. 133.
7. Fryer, I, p. 74.
8. See *Supplementary Calendar & c.*, ed. Foster, pp. 46, 52, for recommending 'Molinganey' i.e. Muallim Ghani.

Indian sailors who served on European ships must have gained greatly in experience.[1]

The profession of seamanship seems to be a closed circle of, in most cases, hereditary skill. We do not find persons from seemingly higher social status joining the occupation In this context, it will not be out of place to quote at length, Abbe Carre's observations concerning the system of apprenticeship on the English ships. He says: 'There are persons in these ships who from the age of twenty come to learn navigation or how to trade. They rank as part of the crew but are without wages, and have to lend a hand at any task like the others." He makes observations on the class-origins of these apprentices, and says that they were mostly the "sons of members of the Parliament in England, or of noblemen and the richest merchants of London and principal towns."[2] He adds that it was esteemed an honour to send boys to learn the business of navigation. The parents of these children apprenticed them to an experienced captain, usually for seven years, and paid fees for this period, or else gave him a handsome present. Indeed, we would look in vain for the son of a Mughal noble or wealthy Indian Merchant to break with their family's traditional activity in order to become seamen.

Apart from the crew, a large number of persons, often non-professional seamen, were connected with shipping at ports, though for minor jobs; for example, supply of fresh water at the ports needed for voyages. One Khwaja Arab is reported to have been employed by the English for carrying "water caskets" to the English ships at the 'Swally Marine', and this man owned a boat to do the same.[3] Fryer describes the Parsees at Surat as being engaged in supplying the "Marine with carts drawn by oxen, the ships with wood and water."[4] In Bengal, we hear of "excellent and cheap sea-biscuits" being made from the Bengal wheat for the crews of European ships."[5]

1. The English factory records refer to an Indian, "Cojah Carricoos" brother, who had gone to England on an English ship, and then, acted as the Captain of an Indian ship going to the Philippines (*E.F.*, 1668-69, p. 195).

2. Abbe Carre, III, pp. 681-82.

3. *Supplementary Calendar, op. cit.*, p. 102.

4. Fryer, I, p. 295.

5. Bernier, *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 438.

II

Any one, an ordinary passenger or a trader, intending to use the space of a ship, normally had to contact the owner or the master of the ship, often personally.[1] The departure of a ship or ships was a big affair at the port and it was known especially to the commercial classes beforehand.[2] At times, when the ships or goods, or both, belonged to a prominent merchant, or to the King, princes, governors, nobles or other officials, the departure was considered to be a great event and celebrated with much feasting, music and booming of guns.[3]

The *nakhuda* (Captain) entered the names of every passenger aboard in a register kept by him.[4] This must have necessitated a process of checking the entrance of the travellers to the ship.

The passengers were accommodated either in cabins *(balanj)*[5] of various sizes, or they occupied some 'other places and corners' on the deck.[6] Separate apartments called *dabosa*[7] were reserved for women.

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1. Abbe Carre, III, p. 786.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 786.
3. In 1608, Hawkins "was invited by Hogio Nazam to the fraughting of his ship for Mocha, as the custome is, they make at the fraughting their ships great feasts, for al the principallest of the Towne..." (See Purchas, III, p. 7). In 1636, President Methwold of the English E.I.C. was invited by the Governor at Surat to the 'Derbarr' where "the merchants of the hole towne being assembled, there was festivity held with musique and sweete meates according to the custome of this country, and at last as nomination of seven severall shippes intended for severall voyadges .." Out of these seven ships, two belonged to the king, one to the governor, one the 'Shabander' and the rest to some merchants (Cf. E.F., 1634-36, p. 255).
4. Abbe Carre, III, p. 792.
5. For balanj, see *supra.*
6. Abbe Carre III, pp. 794-95. Alexander Hamilton's detailed account of the big *Kishtis*, plying in the Indus region, with cabins, apartments etc., could be taken as a fairly faithful representation of the sea-going ships also. See A. Jan Qaisar, *op. cit.*
7. See Tek Chand, *Bahar-i Ajam*, *s. v. dabosa*, p, 414. He says these cabins were meant for the wife of the *nakhuda*, and the women of the staff of the ship *(ahl-i hijāz* is an obvious copyist's error for *ahl-i jahāz)*. This word is also available in an Urdu dictionary of technical terms, *Farhang Istalāhāt-i peshawarān*, Vol. V, pp. 174-75. The meaning of the word, however, as given by it, does not refer to the ship's cabin for ladies, but as rooms for the passengers, or used as a store room as well as for the sailors. [It was compiled by Maulvi Zafarul Rahman in eight volumes and published by the Anjuman-i Taraqqiye Urdu (Hindi). Delhi, in 1940s.]

Sometimes the shipowner's cupidity to overload his ship with extra cargo in consideration of a little more money could prove disastrous.[1] In one instance, it was the vigilance of the passengers alone that prevented a shipowner, Agha Rahimi, from overloading the ship for they protested in unison and threatened to leave her. The shipowner had to bow to them, but retaliated by doubling the fare to compensate the loss![2]

The fares charged for the cabins were usually high.[3] The largest cabin of the ship ('state-room') aboard which Abbe Carre travelled from Surat to the Persian Gulf, was hired out to a Persian merchant 'for his half-a-dozen wives" for 1,000 *e'cus* (£225 = Rs. 2,000). A middle sized cabin cost 300 *e'cus* (£67½ = Rs. 600); other small places and corners six or seven hundred *livres* (£45-47½ = Rs. 400-418).[4]

It is difficult to show the total number of passengers generally carried aboard the ships 'tonnagewise'. The *Rahimi*, whose tonnage could have been anywhere between 1,000 to 1,500 was reported in 1618 to have carried 'above a thousand persons![5] In April 1612, she was reported as having 1400 persons,[6] and in August 1500.[7] In 1613, a ship of 300 tons carried more than 300 sailors and passengers.[8] Another ship of 600 tons was noticed in 1612, and then had 800 persons aboard.[9] In 1622, the *Salāmatī* (450 tons),[10] was said to have carried more than 800 persons.[11] While referring to such ships as having the capacity of carrying a large number of persons, Moreland thinks that they were "solely for the pilgrim voyage to the Red Sea."[12] This is not quite true. It was

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1. Abbe Carre, III, pp. 792-93.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Thus Abbe Carre : ". . lodging in Paris was as dear as the places in this ship for the month's voyage." (*ibid.*, p. 794).
4. *ibid.*, p. 795.
5. *Purchas*, IV, p. 537.
6. *The Journal of Jourdain*, Hakluyt Society, Series II, Vol. XVI, p. 209.
7. *Letters Received*, ed. Danvers I, p. 163,
8. Thomas Best, *Voyages*, ed. Foster, p. 234.
9. Jourdain, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
10. *Purchas*, III, p. 288
11. Peter V.D. Broeke, extracts tr. Moreland, *Journal of Indian History*, X, 1931, p. 249.
12. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, reprint, Delhi, 1962, p. 160. Also compare Terry's remark for the big ships that the passengers were usually Hajis. (*Purchas*, IX, p. 23.)

just normal for the Muslims to combine pilgrimage with trade, and there were certainly a few large ships whose carrying capacity was utilized for both the purposes.[1] One such ship was the *Rahimi* mentioned above. Essentially she was a merchantship: she carried once (1618) 'nine and twentie Tunne of Silver' when coming to Surat from a voyage.[2] While mentioning the *Ganj-i Sawai*, a very big ship owned by Aurangzeb, Abul Fazl Mamuri says that "every year she made a voyage to Mecca *(baitullah)*."[3] This would apparently mean that it was pilgrim-ship, but the misconception is quickly removed when Mamuri adds that once (1693-94) it brought five millions of rupees in cash after selling Indian goods at Jedda. The same misconception is induced by Khafi Khan's statement that the English augmented their income by looting the Indian ships that plied on "the route to *Ka'batullah* (Mecca)."[4] It is quite clear that the Persian writers actually referred to the voyage and sea route from the Western coast to the Red Sea zone by such phrases as 'making a voyage to *baitullah*' and 'the route to *Ka'batullah*'.

III

Unlike the transport charges by land, we do not have much information about marine freight; in all probability the latter was lower than the former. Freight was not uniform at every port. Numerous factors must have influenced its fluctuations, the most important being the

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1. Cf. *Letters Received, op. cit.* I, p. 163 (About the *Rahimi*: "as the report goes brings not less for her use, passengers and pilgrims to Moho or Jeda the port to Mecca. . ."). However, a few ships were apparently used solely for pilgrims for example, Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan had three ships constructed at Surat (*Karīmī, Rahīmī* and *Sālārī*) for carrying the Hajis. (See Abdul Baqi Nahavandi, *Maasir-i Rahimi*. I, Bib. Ind., p. 611). But another reference in the same work (Vol. II, p. 576) pertaining to the *Rahimi* (of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan) shows that the traders also utilised her. Shah Jahan is said to have sent two vessels to Mecca every year carrying pilgrims: "These vessels are laden with good articles of trade, which are disposed of at Mecca, and all the profit made is given in charity to the poor pilgrims. The principal only is retained, and it serves for another year, and this principal is, at the laest, 600,000 rupees". (Gf. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 280-81). Also see Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Bib. Ind. I, pp. 406-7).
2. *Purchas*, IV, p. 537. Also see Jourdain, p. 209. ("Rehemee. . . came from Goga laden with indico and other Indian comodities in abundance. . .").
3. Mamuri, *op. cit.*, f. 188a.
4. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabul Lubab*, Vol. II, part II, Bib. Ind., p. 427.

number of vessels available at a particular time from a particular port.[1]

It is not possible to get a clear pattern of freight-rates from the scattered references in our sources. However, the obvious practice appears to have been of two types i.e. freight charged by a) weight and b) piece-goods. For freight by weight, it must be pointed out that since the units in a maund and a *ser* varied slightly from region to region, it was usual to indicate the units of a maund or a *ser* while quoting the rate.[2]

In one instance, the coastal freight in 1623, from Broach to Swally Road was quoted at fifty mahmudis (=Rs. 20/-) per boat, each boat carrying "a thousand maunds of goods."[3] This comes to one rupee per fifty maunds, clearly a very low rate which can be explained by the fact that probably it was a 'bulk-quotation' i.e. a number of boats were engaged simultaneously. In 1635, the freight from Sind to Persia (Bandar Abbas ?) for Indigo, sugar etc. was rupees seven for 8 maunds.[4] (For piece-goods the rate was the same). Goods brought by the river, from Sehwan to Thatta in 1635, were charged at the rate of one Rupee for 6 maunds (40 pice per *ser*).[5]

There are a few references to gross freight without a mention of the quantity or nature of the goods, and so they are not helpful for our purpose.[5]

A quite interesting practice was that of the chartering of a whole ship. In 1642, Tapi Das, the chief *sarrāf* ('house sheraffe') of the English East India Company, is reported to have 'hired' an English ship *(Prosperous)* for 5,000 mahmudis to be sent to Persia and back.[7] Again,

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1. This was the case with freight from Sind to Persia in 1635. Cf. *E.F.* 1634-36, p. 133.
2. See *E.F.*, 1634-36, pp. 129, 133.
3. *Ibid.*, 1622-23, p. 261.
4. *ibid.*, 1634-36, p. 133 (Here the *ser* was of 40 pice by weight).
5. *ibid.*, p. 129.
6. For example, in 1625, several Surat merchants offered freight (Rupees 15,000) for their goods to be carried to Mokha (*E.F.*, 1624-29, p. 68). Tavernier says that at times the total income from the freights of some vessels amounted to 60,000 rupees (*op. cit.*, II, p. 35).
7. *E.F.*, 1642-45, p. 21.

in 1662, Beni Das, a broker of the said Company, had his ship, *Seaflower*, hired out to the company at 10,000 mahmudis for a voyage from Surat to Mokha.[1]

With the acceleration of trade and commerce during the seventeenth century, the institution of insurance begins to be heard of. The first and perhaps the only reference to Insurance (*bīma*) in the Persian sources is that by Sujan Rai, and at that, it is a very late notice.[2] Sujan Rai mentions *bīma* while describing the activities of the *sarrāfs* (bankers) and the institution of the *hundī* (bills of exchange). Incidentally, though writing in 1694, he expresses great surprise at this practice. Again, he mentions insurance with regard to land transactions only.

Marine insurance was a well-developed and elaborate institution in the seventeenth century India, widely practised on the western coast. A comparison with the inland insurance rate indicates that the marine rate was definitely higher (see the tables below).[3]

INLAND INSURANCE RATE

Year	place	item	rate	Source
1647	Daman to Surat	Treasure	1%	*E.F.*, 1646-50, p. 88.
1647	Ahmadabad to Thatta	Money	½%	*ibid.* p. 103
1655	Surat to Agra	Cochineal	2½%	*E. F.* 1655-60, p. 15.
1655	Surat to Coromandel	Coins	1%	*ibid*,, p. 42.

1. *ibid.*, 1661-64, p. 109

2. Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 25. (Also see, Irfan Habib, 'Banking in Mughal India'. *Contributions to Indian Economic History*, (I), Calcutta, 1960, p. 15). The first reference by the English factors to the word *bima* (bemah) was made in 1662. (Cf. E.F., 1661-64, p. 86).

3. Cf. Irfan Habib, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

MARINE INSURANCE RATE

Year	place	Item	rate	Source
1643	Mokha to Surat	a ship	3%[1]	E. F., 1642-45, p. 92.
1644	Surat to Mokha	'goods'	5%	*ibid.*, p. 161, fn. 1.
1649	Surat to Gombroon	Sugar	2¾%	*ibid.*, 1646-50, p. 259
1665	Calicut to Surat	'Checkeens' (coins)	4½%	*ibid.*, 1664-67, p. 100

The cause of course is not far to seek: the incidence of loss or damage through shipwreck was apparently larger than the risk of robbery on the land;[2] moreover, the piratical acts on the high seas were probably an additional factor for inflating the rate, at times quite sharply.[3] Instances show that not only the goods aboard were insured,[4] but sometimes the whole ship too was insured.[5]

1. Subsequently it rose to 30%, (See the following footnote).
2. Cf. *E. F.*, 1642-45, p. 92. In 1643, the English ship, *Discovery*, sailing from Mokha to Surat and insured at three per cent, met with adverse winds; consequently, its arrival at Surat was much delayed. The upshot was that her safety was generally doubted at Surat and the rate of insurance rose from 3 to 30 per cent.
3. See *E. F.* 1651-54, p. 177. Owing to a quarrel between the Dutch and the English, the insurance rate shot up to 10 and 6 *per cent* on the Dutch and English ships respectively. Goods sent on Indian vessel also seem to have carried higher insurance rate. Thus, in 1665, when the English factors sent 'checkeens' from Calicut to Surat in a 'country Vessel' they had it insured at 4½ per cent since the Dutch danger was looming large (Cf. *E.F.* 1665-67, p. 100).
4. The English factors, in 1644, sent a quantity of tobacco from Swally to Sind in a frigate belonging to an Indian, and had it insured (See *E.F.*, 1642-45, p. 216). In 1649, they sent a quantity of Sugar in an Indian junk (*Fathi*) from Surat to Gombroon, and had it insured. (Cf. *E. F.*, 1646-50, p. 259). Also see *E.F.*, 1664-67, p. 170, for insuring red Kamran wool from Gombroon to Surat.
5. *E.F.* 1642-45, p. 92; *ibid.*, 1651-54, p. 177; *ibid*, 1651-54, p. 224.

The insurers must have reimbursed, in most cases, the aggrieved party, but not in cases where the legality of the claim could be contested. There is an interesting example of such a situation in the English Factory Records. In January 1654, the English ship, *Supply*, was insured for Rs. 7,500. But unknown to the insurers war had already broken out between the Dutch and the English, and the Dutch seized the ship on high seas. When the insurers at Surat were approached for compensation they refused on the ground of deception having been practised, and on the plea that the English surrendered the ship without resistance. The case was put before the governor of Surat, who upheld the stand of the insurers. An appeal made to the Emperor was referred back to the governor's discretion, owing to the latter's influence at the court. The governor appointed four *Banias* to examine the case. This committee held that the English ought to be indemnified by the insurers, and the Dutch be asked to compensate the insurers. The governor had his own commercial interests to safeguard, and so he chose to do nothing which might prejudice the Dutch.[1] The case dragged on for four months, and in March, 1654, we again hear the English factors' report on the non-payment of the insurance money.[2] In 1655, Princess Jahanara interceded on their behalf by writing letters to the governor of Surat, but to no avail.[3] Finally, in 1656, Mir Jumla rejected the English factors' demand in favour of the insurers.[4]

But this was only one side of the picture i. e. when the insured ones were the losers. In one instance, the insurers were made victims with much ingenuity and planning. In 1666, the English factors reported from the Malabar coast about the activities of one Banjee (Vanji) Ravadas, whose practise was to buy old vessels for a small sum, let them out on bottomry, taking care to have the vessels insured, and then order his men either to contrive to cast away the ships, or burn them at the harbour itself, thereby making his gains from the insurers.[5] Incidentally this indicates that the insurance covered not only shipwrecks through adverse winds, or loss due to piratical acts, but also damage done to the

1. E.F., 1651-54, p. 224.
2. *ibid.*, p.251.
3. *ibid*, 1655-60, p. 15.
4. *ibid.*, p. 71.
5. *ibid.*, 1665-67, p. 202.

vessels by fire.

Besides marine insurance, there was yet another institution of merchant shipping in India which, surprisingly enough, was an exact parallel to the contemporary European one of bottomry[1] and respondentia. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines bottomry as 'A species of contract of the nature of a mortgage, whereby the owner of a ship, or the master as his agent, borrows money to enable him to carry on or complete a voyage, and pledges the ship as security for repayment of the money. If the ship is lost, the lender loses his money; but if it arrives safe, he receives the principal together with the interest or premium stipulated, "however it may exceed the usual or legal rate of interest."[2] Respondentia was essentially the same practice, with the difference that the loan taken was not upon the ship, but upon the goods aboard.[3] Thus, four points emerge with regard to bottomry and respondentia.

(a) It was a loan upon the particular voyage of the ship or the goods aboard;

(b) the rate of interest was exorbitantly high;

(c) the loan did not involve any consideration of time;[4]

(d) If the ship was lost, the lender lost his money.

Unfortunately, our Persian sources do not allude to this institution, and therefore, the exact Indian term used then with reference to bottomry and respondentia is not available in them. The English Factory Records, however, refer to it,[5] and the Indian term has been spelt variously as Aug (1636),[6] Awg (1640),[7] Avugge (1653)[8] and Avog (1666, 1669).[9]

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1. *Oxford English Dictionary* (O.E.D.), Vol. I, *op. cit.*, *s. v.* bottomry. The word was variously spelt as bottomarie, bodomery, bottomree, after the Dutch *bodmerij*).
2. *ibid.*, The money taken was known as bottomry-bond, money.
3. Park, *Marine Insurance*, II, XXII, p. 869, quoted in the *O.E.D.*, *op. cit.*
4. *O. E.D.*, *op. cit.* (quotation from Malynes) *s.v.*
5. Cf. Irfan Habib, 'Usury in Medieval India', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. VI, No. 4, July, 1964.
6. *E.F.*, 1634-36, p. 232.
7. *ibid.*, 1637-41, p. 272.
8. *ibid.*, 1651-54, p. 211.
9. *ibid.*, 1665-67, p. 202; 1668-69, pp. 184, 195.

H. H. Wilson, in his Glossary, has given the Indian word AWAK = Insurance.[1] He defines it as: "In western India, Respondentia, an advance of money to a merchant upon the goods or merchandise in a ship before sailing, under the condition that if the voyage be profitable the loan is to be repaid with an extra rate of interest or percentage."[2] Wilson gives yet another word, *Awak-vyaju*, i. e. "A transaction in which a person who has made a respondentia advance enters into an engagement with some third person, who, for a bonus or stipulated interest, insures him against loss."[3]

In India, often a departure was made from the rigid definition of bottomry as given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* i.e., the owner of the ship, or his agent *only* took money from the lenders. Sometimes the shipowners themselves became lenders to traders and merchants.[4] In such cases, the loan was given upon the merchandise put on the ship by the merchants—a case of respondentia—, and these goods were looked upon as a "mortagage", "as caution for their performance."[5]

As regards bottomry, the example of Vanji Revadas has been cited above. The rate of interest varied according to the needs of the merchants or the great expectations of large profits from a particular voyage. The rate referred to in one instance (1640) is from 14 to 18 per cent for a voyage between Surat to Gombroon.[6] In 1669, when a merchantship, managed and owned by the Indian merchants, was being sent to the Philippines from Surat, the rate of interest for bottomry money rose to 45, 50 and 60 per cent,[7] because 'There is soe great hopes on this voyage." This high percentage comes close to the one reported from Europe in 1622.[8] Ovington, in 1689, while referring to the trading act-

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1. H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms & etc.*, 1968, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, *s. v. Awak.* Also see Platts (*Urdu, Classical Hindi and English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1960, *s. v. awak*) and Fallon (*New Hindustani-English Dictionary*, 1879, *s.v.* The latter two only give 'insurance' as its meaning.
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid, s. v. Awak-Vjaju.*
4. *E.F.*, 1937-41, p. 272.
5. *ibid.*
6. *E.F.*, 1637-41, p. 272.
7. *Ibid.*, 1668-69, p. 195.
8. *O.E.D., op. cit.* ("... 30,40 and 50 pro cent").

ivities of the English employees of the Engish East India Company, says that they would borrow from the 'Bannians' money for China-trade at 25 per cent (on bottomry).[1] A late source (1704) has given varying rates for bottomry and respondentia, most probably at Madras, depending on the part or region to which the ships were bound. The following rates are quoted in 1704:—[2]

(i) China—20 to 25%
(ii) China and Persia—40% (45% in 1703)
(iii) Bengal—15 to 18%
(iv) "Acheen"—ditto
(v) "Battavia"—20%
(vi) Pegu—20 to 25%
(vii) "Battavia" and Surat—35 to 40%
(viii) "Manilla"—30 to 35%
(ix) Surat—25 to (blank)
(x) "Mocho"—30%

The rate for China (i) corresponds to that quoted by Ovington. Nos. (ii) and (vii) are interesting: they seem to be consolidated rates for two voyages (of the same vessel or vessels ?) in different directions. It could also be inferred that such consolidated rates allowed a rebate. For example, had money been borrowed for two voyages separately (Batavia and Surat), the debtor would have been charged in all at 45%, while the consolidated rate (vii) was 35 to 40%. No. (ii) clearly shows the fluctuations in the rate from year to year. However, it is difficult to explain the differences in the rates for the various ports or regions. A tentative suggestion could be that the volume of trade—transactions at different ports was one of the determining factors. Distance too appears to be of some importance.

The average rate of interest in North India for general lending was about 1% per month.[3] It is true that this rate cannot be directly compared with that for bottomry since the latter did not involve any period

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1. Ovington, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
2. Charles Lockter, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.
3. Cf. Irfan Habib, 'Usury in Medieval India', *op. cit.*

of time; yet it can be done indirectly. If a ship took even one year to complete its voyage (departure and arrival), the rate would have been 12%, calculated on the basis of the average rate. This is far less in comparison to the bottomry rates cited above. By the way, such exorbitant bottomry rates imply an abnormal rate of profit to be derived from overseas commerce.[1]

With regard to the obiigations on the debtar, the evidence is clear that he was exempt from any payment if the ship or the goods were lost on the high seas. In 1640, the English factors wrote to the Company from Surat:"... nor doe you undergoe other hazard in liewe of the gaine then what may befall your shipping twixt this place and Persia;[2]" again, in 1653, they cautioned against 'avugge', "for, if the ship mis-carry, all is lost."[3] Ovington in 1689 says the same, namely, the money "only to be paid upon the safe Arrival of the Ship, which if it miscarries in the voyage, they are exempt from all damage."[4]

It appears from one instance that bottomry or respondentia was considered to be "a secure and advantagious way to remit monies" from one place to another,[5] thus avoiding the medium of the *hundi* (bills of exchange), but another instance shows that the bill of exchange was preferred to 'avugge'.[6]

Considering all this evidence, could it be suggested safely that the practice of bottomry and respondentia was an independent development in India ? But it cannot be established whether this institution existed in its vigorous form before the 17th century: we have so far found no reference to it in 16th century sources available to us.

In spite of such developments as the the marine insurance, bottomry and respondentia, we look in vain for any trace of a thing like a corpo-

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1. For example, consider Tavernier's remark: " It is considered a small matter when 30 to 40 per cent only is made on these goods, for some yield cent per cent." (*Travels in India,* II, ed. Crooke, 1925, p. 281).
2. *E.F.*, 1637-41, p. 272.
3. *ibid.*, 1651-54, pp. 211-12.
4. Ovington, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
5. *E. F.*, 1637-41, p. 272.
6. *ibid.*, 1651-54, pp. 211-12.

rate trading or shipping company in India. But there is evidence that ome persons did form joint ventures for overseas trade on there own, though it is not possible to indicate the nature and scale of such ventures in detail. We hear of two nobles, Nawab Qutbuddin Khan and Nawab Qilich Khan, having built a ship and taken to trading jointly during Akbar's reign.[1] Similarly, an Englishman Durson, "in partnership with a Moor of Balasore, built a vessel of 200 tons", in which they intended to trade from port to port.[2] In 1662, two brokers, Chhota Thakur and Somji, of Surat, bought a ship (*Mayflower*) in partnership and 'fitted her for a voyage." An Englishman, Mr Andrews, also joined this trading venture.[3] At a slightly higher level, the case of "Khwaja Minaz" could be cited. He owned a ship *Hopewell*, and in partnership with many persons, sent cargoes upon her for a voyage to the Philippines.[4] But this particular venture must have been a temporary one; no positive evidence have been found for joint overseas business dealings on a permanent basis. There are numerous references to individuals—nobles, princes, Emperors, and merchants—possessing ships of their own. Abdul Ghafur, the richest merchant in Surat in the second half of the 17th century, is reported to have been the "sole proprietor of 20 large vessels",[5] of between 300 and 800 Tuns each.[6] In 1663, a few wealthy merchants of Surat are said to have had 50 ships of their own.[7] Again, some merchants in Balasore and 'Piplo' had about "20 saile of ships of considerable burthen."[8] Ali Akbar Isfahani[9] and Khwaja Nizam Saudaar[10] owned a number ships. An Indian broker in the 1670s is reported

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1. Bayazid, *Tazkara-i Humayun-o-Akbar, Bib. Ind.*, p. 354,
2. *E. F.*, 1651-54, p. 92.
3. *ibid*, 1661-64, p. 98.
4. *ibid.*, 1668-69, p. 195.
5. H.H. Das, *The Norris Embassy to Aurangzib*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 228, n. 5. Cf. Hamilton, I, p. 89.
6. Hamilton, I, p. 89.
7. G.M. Moraes, 'Surat in 1662 as described by Fr. Manuel Godinho', *JRAS* (B), New series, vol. 27, part II, June, 1952, p. 127.
8. Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, 1905, p. 179-80.
9. Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Bib. Ind., II, p. 606.
10. *ibid.*, I, pp. 267-68.

to have owned four "fine vessels."[1] In 1651, the English factors reported that Mir Jumla "hath tenn vessells of his own and intends to augment them."[2]

IV

The plunder of the Indian ships by the European powers is too well-known a subject to be described in detail here.[3] However, a few features of the piracy may be pointed out that seem to have gone unnoticed. That there was a pattern in the looting of the Indian ships must have been realised by the Indians themselves, but it was Khafi Khan who perhaps for the first time put it in writing. He plainly states that the English did not molest and rob the outgoing Indian ships full of Indian goods, on their way to Mocha or Jedda, but only on their return voyage from the foreign ports, after having done profitable business transactions, and bringing back home a vast treasure, silver and gold aboard. He adds that they plundered the ship which was reported to have the largest amount of money.[4] From many accounts it can be gathered that usually the piracy was for the cargoes only, and the ship or her crew was not harmed, unless, of course, they offered resistance.[5] At times, the plunder was indirect: the Indians were forced to exchange their cargoes with those of the interceptors in accordance with a price-list prepared and dictated by them.[6] The piracy was motivated by various factors, for example, to retaliate for the treatment meted out to the Europeans on land by the Mughal authorities or to blackmail in order to get certain trade concessions, and even to show displeasure at friendly relations between the Indians and a rival European company. When during the second half of the 17th century, the Indian merchants displayed much enterprise in overseas commerce it greatly alarmed the English and they sought to crush the former by a systematic policy of physical harassment on the high seas.[7] The issuance of a pass or cartass (from Pers. *Qartās*

1. Abbe Carre, I p 145.
2. *E.F.*, 1651-54, p. 12.
3. See Jagdish Narain Sarkar, 'The Rape of Indian ships in the Indian waters, 1612', *Proc. of the Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1949, pp. 182-190.
4. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 427.
5. *Mahmudi*, a ship of Diu, was captured in 1636 by some English privateers. Her *nakhuda*, Amagee, was " bound both his hands and tyed match to his fingers, which burnt them unto the bones; and then he confessed where the money lay". (Cf. *E.F.*, 1634-36, p. 199).
6. Jourdain, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 217; *Purchas*, III, pp. 400-3.
7. See A. J. Qaisar, *op. cit.*

= paper) to the Indians for shipping[1] was not only an attempt to prove their thalassocracy, but yet another means to fill their coffers by asking the Indians to pay a certain amount as the fees for the safe sailing of their merchantmen.[2] But this complicated the issue more for the Indians: the pass of one Company might not be recognised by the others; rather they became suspects of being in league with their rival trading Companies. Finding themselves in such a situation the Indians often took recourse to interesting startagems which had their own pitfalls. In 1617, the English robbed a boat near Surat thinking it to be a Portuguese boat; later on, when a Surat merchant made claims to the boat and goods, it turned out that the English were actually misled by the men (Indians) on the boat who were 'clothed in Portugall apparel.'[3] In another instance we find an Indian ship flying the English flag, while holding Dutch passes![4] An ingenious way was to convert an Indian-built ship outwardly "After the Christian manner",[5] to give the appearance of a European ship from a distance. The "passport system" gave a sort of security at least from the Company that issued it,[6] and in cases when any damage was done to the recipients by the employees of the same company, or even a private buccaneer of the same nation, a claim for compensation was always put before the authorities concerned.[7] The news of an act

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1. See M.N. Pearson, 'Cafilas and Cartazes', *"Procd. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1968.
2. The Portuguese demanded (for the *Rahimi*) 'an hundred thousand Mamudies for her cartas or Passe, and after twentie thousand, at last taking one thousand Rialls and odde money, with divers presents, which the Mogolls were faine to give them". (Cf. *Purchas*, IV, p. 23) The practice of demanding money was perhaps not adhered to in all cases.
3. *Letters Received, op. cit.*, VI, p. 275.
4. Fryer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 73-74.
5. *E.F.* 1642-45, p. 168.
6. See *E. F.*, 1630-33, p. 284, for a specimen of such passes granted to the Indian sailors. This particular pass was valid for one year only. Compare Abbe carre,' III. p. 786, for the 'custom' of the Indian merchants to obtain a passport from each of the European Companies.
7. For example, in 1636, when some Indian vessels were robbed by a certain English privateer, the Indian merchants first asked as compensation an amount of Rs. 100,000, then raised it to 200,C00. At length the English paid Rs. 110,000 (Cf. *E.F.*, 1634-36, pp. 190-97). This was done in accordance with the agreement concluded in September, 1624 (See *E. F.* 1624-29, pp. 27-30). But with regard

of piracy spread like wild fire and would throw the Indian merchants into despair;[1] quick reprisals also followed against the erring company on land till restitutions were made.[2] However, the safest way for the Indian merchants was to seek the permission of an European company to allow them to accompany the latter's ships for the voyage.[3] On the other hand the pirates occasionally tried to conceal their identity by flying the 'colours' of more than one Company.[4]

Besides the European pirates, we find a large number of reference to certain groups of professional Indian pirates—the Malabaris[5] and the 'Sanganians'[6] being the most important ones. But their activities were by and large confined to the western coast only; for they did not venture on the high seas. Their preys were both the Indian and European ships,[7] though they took care not to attack the bigger ones.[8] While the Malabaris were also reputed traders,[9] the Sanganians were entirely a piratical

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(Foot note) contd. from page 217

to the *Mahmudi*, a ship of Diu, the English said that she was "not sayling with our passe, and soe out of our protection," and moreover, that Diu belonged to the Portuguese and the matter should therefore be left to the Viceroy of Goa (*E.F.* 1634-36, p. 241). Also, Broeke, *op. cit.*

1. When Methwold, the President of the English Company, was called by the Governor of Surat in connection with the robbery of Indian ships, he described the scene at the Governor's residence: "I found a sadde assembly of dejected merchants, others halfe dead in the sense of their losses.. " (Cf. *E.F.*, 1634-36, p. 232).
2. *E.F.*, 1634-36, p. 190; Ovington, *op. cit.* p. 243.
3. *Supplementary Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Carre, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
4. Ovington, p. 239.
5. One of the earliest accounts of the Malabar pirates and their method of apprehending a ship has been given by Marco Polo (Cf. Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, II, London, 1926, p. 389). Also, Fryer, I, pp. 16-17, and II, pp. 144, 152.
6. Fryer, II, p. 152; Ovington, pp. 99-100; 256-58. Hamilton, i, p. 130. Khafi Khan called them as *Sakna*, and adds that they were also known by the term *bawāril*. (Cf. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 428.)
7. For example, in 1608, the Malabaris "tooke or sunke" the Portuguese vessels, at times "sixtie saile or more". (See *Purchas*, IV, p. 22).
8. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 428.
9. Cf. J. Van Twist. "A General Description of India", extracts tr. Moreland, *Journal of Indian History*, XVI, p. 76.

community, primarily active 'from the streights of Ormus to the Gulf of Cambay' (including the Sind coast), and at times going down the Malabar coast. The Malabari pirates at the most came upto the Gulf of Cambay. It is interesting to note Fryer's statement that the 'Malabars... are sent out by the Great Men ashore; the chief of whom lives at Durmapatan..."[1] Both the groups of the Indian pirates were usually well-armed. Once the Malabaris are reputed to have used stink-pots (hand-bombs or grenades), and small guns, and had "at least sixty fighting Men besides rowers".[2] One of the Sanganian ships carried ten guns and 150 men; the other, a small one, four guns and 50 men.[3] The strong point of the latter was the quality of their ships "made so well for sail, that they are ready to run when they see a vessel of any countenance."[4] The English, as Khafi Khan points out, met the accusations of piracy against them by shifting the blame onto the Sanganians.[5]

Our sources speak of an old maritime custom—with special reserence to the western coast, that if any ship met any disaster or was driven ashore by tempest etc. it was 'legally' plundered or its goods confiscated by the authorities of that port or territory.[6] When the English made a 'treaty' with the Marhattas in 1670s, one of their demads was for the restoration of 'whatever wrecks may happen on his (Shivaji's) coasts belonging to the English, and the inhabitants of Bombain."[7] But Shivaji refused to oblige them on the ground that "it is against the laws of Conchon (Konkan) to restore any ships, vessels, or goods, that are driven ashore by tempest, or otherwise; and that should he grant us that privilege, the French, Dutch, and other merchants, would claim the same right; which he could not grant without breaking a custom that has

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1. Fryer, I, p. 144, This seems to have been a very old practice. Cf. *The Book of Marco Polo, op. cit.* p. 395.
2. Fryer, II, pp. 16-17.
3. Ovington, p. 256.
4. *ibid.*, p. 258.
5. Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 428.
6. Cf. Marco Polo, *op. cit.*, p. 386. Also see Abdur Razzaq's account with reference to Calicut in *India in the Fifteenth century*, ed. R. H. Major, Hakluyt, Society, p. 14.
7. Fryer, I, p. 206.

lasted many ages."[1] From one instance it could be inferred that this practice was observed on the Coromandel coast as well.[2]

A. J. Qaisar

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1. *ibid.*, pp. 206-7.

2. A treaty between the Nayak of Tanjore and the Danes entitled the latter to what Shivaji refused to the English. See Olafsson, *op. cit.* II, p. 23.

MERCHANTS AND THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND CIVIC LIFE IN GUJARAT DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

The main views generally held by the scholars who have written about the merchant class under the Mughals, in general, is that this class had no independent significant. They (merchants) were not treated as men of quality. For from enjoying a social prestige in any way comparable with that of their European counter-parts, they always ran the risks of being reduced to mere artisans or workmen. Their average income was not large. If, however, they were wealthy. Their possible ways of expenditure were confined within narrow limits, since ostentation was dangerous.[1] In towns merchants were subject to many hardships, bribes, heavy taxation and under uncertainty of their business etc. & c.[2]

But in contrast to this, the shape of commercial development in the province of Gujarat does not seem to confirm to this position. While its geographical situation provided an element of mobility in the movement of trade supported by the superior strength of foreign trading vessels with a promise of protection against repacity and oppression caused by local governor. The trading community there could operate with freedom and security of private property. It resembled partially if not fully the English middle class, the merchant-manufacturer or commercial capitalist who monopolized specific branches of trade and organised industry by the advancing capital.

The observations of Travellers and the information provided by the scanty remarks of English Factors have us to believe that merchant community in Gujarat was very rich.[3] The cities like Ahmadabad,

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1. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, 1962 p. 247.

2. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 295.

3. *Terry* wrote that "There are very many private men in cities and towns, who are merchants or tradesmen, that are very rich; "*Early Travels in India* ed. W. Fostor, p. 391; *Barbosa* was a bit surprised to see that they (merchants) lived 'in great houses and streets of their own as the Jews are wont to dwell in our land'. About Muslims at Rander the same authority further goes "they were well-dressed, had good houses, Well-kept and furnished". *The book of Barbosa*, tr. Dames, Hakluyt, vol. II, p. 73; see also Pietro-della Valle, *Travels of Pietra della Valle in India*, tr. Edward Grey, London, 1892, vol. I, p. 41.

Surat, Cambay, Baroach and Baroda were inhabited by richest merchants.[1] They acted as great financiers and public crediters. From time to time they even financed the investment the homeward cargoes of the East India Company.[2] Virji Vohra, the merchant prince of Surat, was one of these. The English Factors at Surat always remaind under his debts.[3] Santi Das was another great merchant of Ahmadabad. Shahjahan recognised his status and gave him the title of *Nagar Seth*.[4] He and three others gave to prince Murad, a little before the out break of war of succession, over five and half lakhs of rupees on loan which later on was ordered to be paid by Aurangzeb.[5]

Abdul Ghaffur an other rich merchant of Surat is said to have owned more than twenty vessels of his own [6]. Agha Rahim,[7] Haji

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1. *Letter's Received*, ed. W. Fostor, Vol. I pp. 305-306; Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri*, ed. S. H. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p. 22; *The English factories in India*, (New Series) ed. S. C. Fawcett, Oxford, 1936, vol. I, p. 233; Finch *Early Travels*, p. 173; Hamilton, *Voyage and Travels, A New Account of the East Indies* (1637-1723) digested by J. Pinkerton, London, 1811, in 8 Vols. pp. 314-315-316-317 *Hamilton* about the inhabitants of Surat mentions, 'The *Banyans* are moft numerous in this city, and are either merchants, bankers, brokers or penmen, as accountants, collectors and furveyers but few are none handy crafts except taylors and barbers.' Careri; *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. H. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 163-164. *Careri* informs about merchants of Surat, 'there are such rich merchants that they can load any great ship out of one of their ware-houses'. Johan Van Twist, *A General Description of India'*, 1638, extracts Moreland, JIH. XVI, (1937), p. 73.

2. *The English Factories in India*, ed. W. Foster, Vol. 3, pp. 300-306.

3. *Ibid;* Vol. 5, p. 24; *Ibid,* Vol. 6, p. 218; *Ibid,* Vol. 3, p. 90. The Wealth of Virji Vohra was estimated more than 80 lakhs. See *The English Factories*, Vol. 2, p. 308; *Thevenot*, p. 22;

4. *The English Factories*, Vol. 5. pp. 196-197;

5. Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i-*Ahmadi, Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 238-39.

6. Manucci, *Storia do Mogay*, ed. William Irvine, Vol. 3, p. 292; *Hamilton*, p. 316; *The English Factories* Vol. 1, p. 223;

7. 'Agha Rahim is said to be a leading *Moor* Merchant of Surat......... a rich and influential *Persian* merchant who had chartered half of the ships at Surat for his own use'; The Abbe Carre, *The Travels af Abbe Carre in India and the near East* (1672-1674) tr. by lady Fawcett, ed. Sir C. Fawcett and Sir C. Burn, London, 1947 vol. III, p. 792.

Zahid Beg,[1] Mirza Mauzzam[2], Mirza[3] Mahmud and Hari Vaisya[4] were all big merchants of Gujarat engaged in trade both inland and foreign.

The big merchants by cornering supplies, could considerably manipulate prices.[5] On paper one of the main duties of the *kotwal* was to control the market, checking the engrossing and cheapening commodities.[6] But from the reports of the English Factors it is clear that winning over the local officials these merchants in all the great markets had the prices in their hands. They could lower or raise the prices of any commodity at their will.[7] Engrossing and monopoly were commonly practised by them.[8] Reporting this the English Factors from Surat write: 'The potency of Virgee Vorah who hath bene the usuall merchant, and is now become the sole monopolist of all European commodities, is observed to beare such sway among the inferior merchants of this town that when they would oftentymes buy (and give greater prices). They are still restrayned, not dareing to betray their intents to his knowledge and their own sufferance, in so much that tyme and price is still in his will and at his owne disposure'.[9] The same position Santi Das, the *Nagar Seth*, held at Ahmadabad.[10]

Not only the merchants controlled the prices in the open markets but also they had their hold over the customhouse where the assessment after valuation on the basis of prices current was the practice. And if

1. *The English factories*, vol. II, p. 300. Haji Zahid Beg was so rich that Shivaji demanded from him alone more than 3 lakhs, when he attacked Surat.
2. *Ibid.*, (New Series) Vol. I, pp. 175-233.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 212
4. *Ibid*, p. 300; The English were also in debt to Hari Vaisya;
5. *Mirat*, I, pp. 260-261. Aurangzeb is said to have forbidden this practice through the *Farman* issued on 20th Nov. 1665; *Mirat* informs that owing to the monopoly in rice trade by some persons the rice became very dear in Gujarat for instance in the year 1665. *Mirat*, I. p. 262.
6. *Mirat*, I, pp. 169-170.
7. *The English Factories*, vol. 8, p. 187.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 209. 'In 1632, when Surat was still famine-strichen, *The English Factors* report, 'the local prices of food were doubled because the governor and one or two big merchants had combined to engross the available supply of grain.' *Mirat*, I, pp. 260-261;
9. *The English Factories*, Vol. 7, p. 108;
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, pp. 196-197.

the *mutasaddi* wished to rate any commodity higher without the prior consultation of merchants they could refuse to buy it. Therefore, at Surat the practice became established that the Governor either consulted the chief merchants or had one of their representatives at his side at the time of valuation.[1] And if the *mutassddi* (Governor) aimed at any fraud he could not do it without bringing it to the notice of one or two chief merchants.

About the defence precautions and fortification of the town against an expected attack, the merchants used to be consulted. For instance, in 1672 when Shivaji again was expected against Surat, the Governor of Surat called a council of merchants, "and, report the English Factors, 'propossed their collecting a sum of Rs. 45,000 to raise 500 horses and 3,000 foot for the defence of the town for two months[2]."

Much has been said by scholars about the atrocities of the local town officials towards the merchants but it must not always be taken for granted that merchants suffered those submissively. There are instances when merchants stood firmly against such acts of the *Qazi*, *Kotwal*, *Chaudhari* and *Qanungo* and threatened them either with carrying their complaints to the Emperor or to leave the town for ever and finally to declare the general cessation of business in the town. For instance, the metchants of Surat numbering 8000 threatened the *Qazi*, for latter's initiating the persecution of Hindus by destroying their temples in 1669, following an order of Aurangzeb, to complain to the Emperor and to leave the city of Surat for ever. When the *Qazi* remained unmoved, the merchants left Surat causing the entire market business to come to stand still. Reporting this the English Factors write, 'In the interim the people in Surat suffered great want, the *Bannians* having bound themselves.........not to open any of their shops without order from their *mahager* (*Mahajan*) or general council, there was not any provisions to be got, the *tanksall* and custom-house shut; no mony to be procured; soe much as for home expenses, much less for trade, which was wholy at a stand; and so it will be continued till their return'. The merchants in question did not return to Surat till the governor and *Qazi* approached them and sought for parden for what had happened.[3]

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1. Finch, *The Early Travels*, p. 127.
2. *The English Factories* (New Series) Vol. I, p. 221.
3. *The English Factories*, Vol. 13, pp. 190-192;

In the 8th regnal year of Aurangzeb, the merchants of Cambay complained to him against the covetous and oppressive local *qanungoes* and *Chaudharis* and threatened to flee if their grievances remained unredressed. The Emperor thereupon ordered that there would be only two *qanungoes* and two *Chaudharis* in place of many as reported, and they should treat the merchants well.[1]

To qutoe one more instance, in the 1673, the merchants of Surat, headed by Bhimji Parakh, the English broker, being fed up with the Mughal administration, mentions the English Factors, decided to leave Surat and settle at Bombay and petition to this effect was farwarded to English Governor at Bombay. But later on this idea was dropped following an assurance by the Surat local officials of better treatment henceforth.[2]

From these instances and many others it can be inferred that the complaints to the Emperor, the threat to leave the town and the general *hartal* were three very effective instruments in the hands of merchants to keep the local officials off from oppressing them. Because the local officials also had their vested interests. For a complaint against them to the Emperor could result either in transfer or most probably in removal from office. And secondly the merchants threat to leave the town might cause them (officials) the material loss illegally charged. Moreover, as sometimes happened the local officials, many of them drawn from the same class as the merchants, could have racial or family alliance with the merchants and hence bound to treat them well if not very well.[3]

The removal of the Surat *mutasaddis* during 17th century can be accounted for by the complaints of merchants from there.[4] No matter what the cause of the complaint was action was often taken. We have the instance of the removal of Masih-uz-Zam in 1637 for no other cause than the general complaint that he imprisoned Virji Vohra.[5]

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1. *Mirat*, I, p. 263;
2. *The English Factories* (New Series), Vol. 1, p. 233;
3. See Foster's remark on this, *The English Factories, Introduction*, Vol. I, p. 14; *Hamilton*, 317.
4. See Foster's remark od this: *The English Factories, Intraduction*, Vol. 6, p. 16; *Ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 62; *ibid*, Vol. 12; p. 204; *Ibid.*, (New Series), Vol. I, pp. 283-284; *The English Factories*, Vol. 11, pp. 204-206;
5. *The English Factories, Introduction*, Vol. 6, p. 16;

Socially their position here was much the same as elsewhere in Mughal India. They were not superior to the landed and military aristocracy however wealthy they might be. They followed their business hereditarily. They used their own language to which Mughal administration also extended recognition. The daily cash books of the market known as *Khātā*[1] and the custom house books[2] at Surat were kept both in Persian and *Gujarati*. The important anouncements and official posters, throughout the city of Surat were put up both in Persian and *Gujarati*.[3]

Among the peculiar custom of the *Gujarati* merchants one was to declare a bankrupt merchant free of all responsibilities to pay debts.[4] *Banians* used to rest on *Thursday*, while the muslims day of rest was *Friday*.[5] Hindu merchants also kept their shops closed on days such as *Pūrnimā*, *Amā-vāsya* and *Ekādasī*.[6] Revoke of bargain was also a ageneral practice among merchants at Surat. Middleton says 'that what bargain so ever is made between merchant and merchant may be revoked'. But it must be done within twenty four hours.[7]

The charitable acts of *Banians* excelled to the extent that they even ran veterinary hospitals, built temples, reservoirs for public use and *sarais* for their fellow businessmen and travellers almost in every town.[8]

Mahendra Pal Singh

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1. *The English Factories*, Vol. 4, p. 101.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 207
4. *Hamilton*, 616;
5. Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 325.
6. *Mirat*, I, 260.
7. *Middleton*, *Hakluytus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, S. Purchas, Vol. 3, p. 188.
8. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (1640-67) tr. V. Bull, 2nd ed. by W. Crooke, London 1927, Vol. I, pp. 77-78. Fitch, *Purchas and His Pilgrimes*, Vol. 10, p. 170; *Thevenot*, pp. 11-13; Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia being nine years Travels* ed. W. Crooke, London, Vol. I, p. 138; *Manucci*, Vol. I, p. 156; Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, ed. M. G. Rowbinsion, Oxford, (1929), p. 300; Peter Munday, *Travels in Asia*, (1630-34), ed. Sir R. C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, XXXV, London 1914, Vol. 2, p. 310;

FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The earlier centuries of the Christian era witnessed the growth of a brisk foreign trade between Indian and the Asiatic and Western countries. During the Muslim period these trade relations with foreign contries continued. As early as the reign of Sultan Iltutmish (died 1236 A.D.), the presence of Chinese merchants in Delhi, has been recorded by Isami.[1]

During the Mughal period, the Mughal rulers had political relations with the outer world. Aurangzeb, during his reign, had received the envoys from the Grand Sharif of Mecca, and the king of Erance, Balkh, Grand Seignor and Persia.[2] These diplomatic contacts accelerated the growth of foreign trade.

Northern India carried on its' foreign trade by two routes, one the sea route of Bay of Bengal, in that case Hughly[3] was the chief centre of export, and the Arabian sea, and Karachi, as its exporting. centre; the second was the land route, as has been shown in the map of the trade routes.

In short, during the period under study, by these two routes, northern India had a considerable and brisk foreign trade with Asian and European countries.

Apart from these two regular ways of foreign trade and commerce, every year the Muslim pilgrims to Mecca carried with them merchandises from here to sell there. They sold there velvets, Muslins of Benares, Dacca and shawls of Kashmir. It also seems most probably that many Indian merchants had settled down in Mecca for business purposes and a very large number of them flourished and enjoyed great opulence in

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1. Isami: *Futuh-us-Salatin* (edited by M. Usha, Madras, 1948) p. 122.

2. Manuucci, Niccolas; *Storia Do Mogor* (edited by William Irvine, London, 1907) II, p. 418.

3. Haber (Reginald) writes in 1825 that, "Vessels of all description, to the burden of 600 tons.... and there is always a crowd Of ships and barks, as well as very interesting assemblage of strangers of all sorts and nations to be seen". *Narrative of a journey through the upper Princes of India etc. 1824-1825.* (London, 1828) I, p. 2

Persia, Turkey and other Asian countries, as has been discussed elsewhere in this chapter. However, there were twenty shops of perfume-sellers and in other two shops, pieces of redstones, pearls, rosaries of sandal-wood, cornelians, bezels and *Huqqa* (a pipe for smoking through water) were sold. All the above articles were imported from India.[1]

It is to be noted that it appears from the works done on Economic history of India during the 18th century, that Bengal only carried on foreign trade and the rest of the Northern India did not carry on any foreign trade and it was in no way benefitted by that trade. Such suppositions are not acceptable on the grounds that whatever articles were exported from Hughly, were not the exclusive products of the Eastern provinces of Northern India, but, in fact, the consignments contained the manufactures of Oudh' Benares, Tanda, Jaunpur and Kashmire. The commercial articles of the above mentioned places were conveyed to Bengal from where they were shipped for foreign countries. Most of the foreign travellers, who visited India during the 17th and 18th centuries, have highly praised the prosperity of Bengal, but it does not mean that the remaining provinces of Northern India had had not any share out of that wealth, however, it may be, that Bengal enjoyed greater share.

In short, writing about the foreign and domestic trade of Bengal, Grose observes thus:

"The foreign and domestic trade of Bengal are very considerable; as may appear from the great number of Persians, Arabs, Abyssinians, Chinese, Guzarats, Armenians, and merchants from all parts of Asia, who resorted there. All the Christian nations, established in the East Indies, also send their shipping to Bengal; and it is with the merchandises of this country that they partly make their returns to Europe,

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1. Abdul Karim Kashmiri: *Nadir Nama* (MS) (Abdul Salam, Aligarh) p. 15.

1. "Formerly great quantities of this much esteemed fabric," observes Twining, "were sent down to Gogra to the Ganges, for the purpose of being transported on larger boats to Calcutta, whence they found their way to the ports of Europe", Twining, Thomas. *Travels in India. A Hundred Years Ago* (London. 1893) p. 231. Also see *Duncan Records* (Selections from the Duncan Records containing Settlement of the Province of Benares by A. Shakespear.) Benares, Medical Hall Press, 1873. 1. p. 6

besides what they export their Indian trade."[1]

As remarked by Dow, Bengal from the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, and the natural history of Hindus, was all the times remarkable for its commerce.[2] It supplied rich cargoes for 50 or 60 ships anually.[3]

Principal articles of export to Europe

The chief articles exported to Europe from northern India consisted of silk and cotton cloths[4], pepper[5], rice[6], salt-petre, wood for dyeing, terra-marita, Lacca, yellow and white wax, indigo,[7] camphor, aloes and

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1. Grose, J.H. *A Voyage to the East Indies Began in 1750 etc.*, (2nd. ed. London, 1766) II. pp. 234-35

   "For the exports of all this merchandise," remarks Manucci, "European and other traders bring much silver to India. They also carry away great quantities of diamonds and saltpetre. The traders also bring much gold from China, from Achin, situated on the South Coast of F. Su (a state and town in the North west coast of Sumatra Island). Also from the West of Persia, there come Venetians (coins) and sequins (coins) in addition to some fruits and liquers almost all of which are for the use of Europeans, living in India". *Storia Do Mogor* (London, 1907) II. p. 418. Forster observes, "Through these branches of commerce, silver, bullion, gold dust and precious stones, are introduced into Bengal." Forster, George, *Journey from Bengal to England etc.*, (London., 1808) I. p. 9

2. Dow, Alexander, *The History of Hindostan* (London, 1803) VI. p. viii
3. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies* II. p. 238
4. Manucci. II. p. 418 The letter dated 29th Dec., 1759 refers to the *dorias*, *tanzebs*, *Kashidas*, *Sannoes*, *boftas etc.* cotton goods received from Dacca and Lakshmipur in 1758-59 which were regarded as, "extremely good," while those received from Patna were of a "inferior quality." Both cotton and silk goods received from Qasimbazar, Kumarkhali and Radhanagar were of high quality. It is also mentioned that the manufactures known as *romali*, *ihilmili* and *saifar* were very good and of superior quality. For details see: *Indian Record Series. Fort William* (ed. by H.N. Sinha, Delhi, 1957) II. pp. 336-37, 440-441

   Forster observes: "From whence (Bengal) in return, raw and wrought silks, coarse cotton cloths," exported. *Journey from Bengal to England* etc, I. p. 9. The muslins of Santipur, writes Twining, "are amongst the richest productions of Ind'a, and were exported in large quantities to Europe" *Travels in India, A Hundred Years Ago* p. 28 also see: Hamilton, Walter, *The East India Gazetteer* (2nd ed. London, 1828) I. pp 182-183 Valentia. George Viscount, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon* etc. (London, 1809) I. p. 91. *Fort William* II. pp. 240, 271, 394, 440

5. *Fort William* II. p. 163
6. In 1805, rice exported from Bengal amounted to rupees 24, 69, 716. *Oriental Commerce*, p. 237.
7. "The manufactures of Indigo," write Walter Hamilton. "appears to have been

gum-gutta[1], opium[2], sugar[3], raw silk[4], and rum[5].

Saltpetre of India commanded a wide market in Europe. "And that article," observes Grose, "of saltpetre only was become of such great consequence to the European powers, that every thing was attempted by the French and Dutch to deprive the English to that advantage."[6] In short, saltpetre formed one of the most important article of investment as it was needed for manufacturing gun-powder.[7] Large quantities of it were exported to Madras, Bombay and to England.[8] In, 1757, 60,000 maunds[9] and in 1759, 58,000 maunds[10] of saltpetre was purchased by the East India Company for exports.

Patna was the most important centre, from where, apart from saltpetre, many other articles were exported for Europe. "In this city were two factories", writes Manucci," one of the English and the other of the Dutch-seeing that there, besides cloths of cotton, much fine silk is woven, and a huge quantity of saltpetre, produced which goes to be stored in Bengal and there loaded on ships for various parts of Europe. Bottles are also made and cups of clay, finer than glass, lighter than paper and highly scented, and these, as curiosities are

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(Foot note contd. from page 229)

known and practised in India from the earliest period. From this country, whence it drives its name, Europe was anciently supplied with it, untill production of America engrossed the market," *The East India Gazetteer.* I. p. 183; Also see, Hamilton, Walter, *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindoostan and the Adjacent Countries,* (London, 1820) I. p. 30

1. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies.* II. p. 235
2. Manucci, II. p. 418, *Voyages and Travels in India, Ceylon* etc. I. p. 91 *Fort William* II. It was sent to China. p. 399
3. Milburn, William, *Oriental Commerce etc.* (London, 1813), II, p. 269
4. The letter to the court, dated 8th Feb. 1759 mentions that *Mugga* silk and a bundle of Mugga-silk made *dooties* were sent to England. For details see, *Fort William.* II. p. 401, Para. 15 For the export of raw-silk from Qasimbazar and Radhanagar, see. ibid. II. p. 242..Also see, *Oriental Commerce* II. pp. 243-44
5. In 1805, rum exported to the foreign countries amounted to Rs. 1, 38, 153. *Oriental Commerce.* p. 237
6. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies.* II, p. 238.
7. For details, *Fort William,* II, p. 399.
8. Ibid, II. pp. 147, 325, 329, 308-9, 320, 439.
9. Ibid, II, pp. 137; 441-42.
10. Ibid, II, p. 219. For details regarding the quantity of exports and the prices between 1756 to 1783; see, *Oriental Commerce,* pp. 239-42.

carried all over the world."[1]

Animal hides were also included in the list of exports.[2]

Trade with Turkistan, China and Russia

Northern India had commercial relations with the countries mentined above. Writing about the importance of Ladakh from commercial points of view, William Mooroff observes, "It was a centre place through which passed commerce, on the side between Tibet, Turkistan, China and even Russia and Kashmire, Punjab and the plains of Hindustan on the other."[3]

Sindh exported great quantities of Linga dulcis (wood) to China via Surat. It was sold there on good prices.[4] In the words of Taylor, "In the articles of cotton alone, the private trade from India to China amounts to one million sterling per annum."[5]

Indian cotton and silk manufactures were sent to Russia by land route via Bokhara, Qandhar and Kabul, thence sent down into Oxus or Amu, which fell into the Caspian Sea .... and there shipped for their respective goals; those for Russia were sent by the Volga.[6] Colonel Taylor informs us that Russia needed Indian raw-cotton, cotton stuffs, raw-silk and manufactured, raw-sugar, Indigo, raw drugs, sandal wood, spices, gum and rice.[7] During the years, 1796 and 1797, only at the Port of St. Petersburgh, the value of articles sent there amounted to 9,141,203 Roubles in 1796 and 5,992,127 Roubles in 1797 respectively.[8]

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1. Manucci, II, pp. 83-84; Also see : *Oriental Commerce* p. 238.
2. *The East India Gazetteer*. I. p. 184
3. Wilson, Horce, Hayman: *Travels in The Himalyan Provinces af Hindostan and the Punjab in Ladakh and Kashmir in Peshwar* etc. (London, 1841) I, pp. 346, 346-48
4. For details see. Hamilton, Alexander: *A New Account of the East Indies* (London 1930) I. pp. 77-78. Also see. Cope (Captain) *A New History of the East Indies* etc. (London 1754) p. 225
5. Taylor (Colonel) *Letters on India* (London, 1800) p. 154 fn. Writes Walter Hamilton, "Besides, opium, consists of grain, salt-petre, gun-powder, iron, fire-arms, silk and cotton piece-goods" were exported Eastward and China from Bengal. *A Description of Hindostan*, I. p. 34
6. Pennant (T) *A View of Hindostan* (London, 1798) I. pp. 10-13
7. Taylor (Colonel) *Letters on India*, p. 233. "Besides arrack, rum, and tobacco, with some smaller articles of merchandise to a considerable value and coffee alone amounted to more than half a million of Roubles yearly." Ibid, p. 234.
8. Taylor (Colonel) *Letters on India*, p. 234.

Thus, in the words of Taylor, "The amount of the productions of India yearly imported to the port of St. Petersburgh, indpendently of other ports, and the commerce of the Euxine and Caspian, may be stated at the sum of 7,000,000 Roubles annually."[1]

Exports to Asian countries

Northern India exported its manufactures and other products to the Asian countries by the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia and Kabul and Qandhar. The port of Hughly supplied to Arabia, Persia,Turkey, Georgia and Armenia and the "Lesser Asia" and in return brought back annually coffers of gold.[2] "All the European Companies," remarks Verelst, "formed their investments with money brought into the country, the Gulphs (Mocha and Persia) poured in their treasures into the river (Ganges) and across the continent, and inland trade was driven to the westward to the extermity of the kingdom of Guzzerat."[3]

Goods from the part of Hughly first shipped for Busserah, from whence they were dispersed all over western Asia.[4] Those goods were carried on farther by two cafilahs, whose departure depended on the arrival of ships from India. Writing about the departure of the second cafilah, Plaisted observes thus :

"The other caravana consisted chiefly of Merchants, the time of their setting out depends principally on the arrival of the ships from India, particularly of those from Bengal; for the goods those bring principally purchased at Busserah, and are partly carried over the great desert to Aleppo."[5]

From another observation of Plaisted it seems that the fine silk manufactures and specially handkerchifs woven at cossimbazar were held in great-esteem and had good demand in Busserah.[6]

1. Ibid, p. 235 (foot Note).
2. Hill S.C. : *Bengal in 1756-57* (London 1950) III, p. 216.
3. Verelst, Harve, *A View of the Rise and Progress and Present state of the English Government in Bengal* (London, 1772) (Appendix) p. 59 Bolts, William. *Considerations on Indian Affairs* (London, 1772) p. 21
4. Plaisted, Bartholomew. *A Journal from Calcutta in Bengal, by sea to Busserah* etc. (2nd, ed. London, 1758) p. 25
5. ibid. p. 25
6. For details see. ibid. pp. 196-97
"It will not be amirs to provide yourself with a few pieces of Cossembazar handkerchiefs for present."

Letter to the Court of Directors, dated 11th, Nov. 1759 refers about the export of 843 bales of cloth, 20 bales of long ells and 25 bales of shalloons to Busserah.[1]

By the land route Hoshyrpur exported its finer cloth manufactures to the north-western part of Asia, "to a great extent."[2] Agents from every remote places of Asia resorted to Hoshyrpur, made advances to weavers and taking the cloth in the rough from the looms, bleached, washed and packed it each in their own fashion to suit the market of their own country. The reason for its great demand was based that the cloths of Hoshyrpur were very light and flimsy.[3] Thatta exported leather in great quantities to Arabia and Persia; butter and grain to Masqat,[4] and cotton and silk manufactures to Afghanistan and Persia.[5]

Bengal exported to the Asian countries rice, sugar, bettle-nuts, ginger, long-pepper, turmerick, and varieties of other drugs and productions of the soil.[6] About 1756, the annual exportations of sugar (from Bengal) was about 50,000 maunds, which yielded a profit of about 50 p. c. and the returns for which was generally in species, so that gradually the export rose to such an extent that from that article alone Bengal received Rs. (0, 00,000 annually.[7]

By 1820 the export of grain had increased from 30 tons to 4500 tons annually.[8]

Indigo was exported to Bokhara and Samarqand via Qandhar which stood as a premier centre for trade between Northern India and Central Asian countries. Forster observes, "The Turcoman merchants of Bokhara and Samarqand, also frequent this mart, whence they transport into their own country a considerable quantity of Indigo, with which commodity Kandhar is annually supplied from various parts of

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1. *Fort William* II, p. 49
2. *Travels in the Himalyan Provinces* etc. I. p. 141
3. ibid. I, p. 142
4. Manucci, II, p. 427
5. For the exports of cotton and silk manufactures from Khairpur (in Sindh) to Afghanistan and Persian, see. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1840) p. 1189
6. Orme, Robert, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nations in Hindostany* 4th ed. London, 1861) II. p. 4. Also see: A Cassells. *A Voyage to Calcutta in 1761* (Bengal: Past and Present. July-Dec. 1933) p. 98
7. *Oriental Commerce*, II, p. 270
8. *A Description of Hindostan*, I, p. 26.

India."[1]

In short, Walter Hamilton sums up the imports of the Asia countries from India thus "the chief commercial intercourse is with India Persia, and Turkistan, but the first is by far the most considerable. Th imports are coarse cotton cloths, muslins, silken cloths and brocade Indigo, in large quantities, ivory, chalk, bamboo, wax, tin, sandal-wood and nearly all the sugar used in the country .... couries also come b this route, through which horse are exported.[2]

To the Gulfs of Arabia and Persia, Bengal exported seeds, grains sugar, silk and cotton piece goods.[3]

Trade with Eastern Kingdoms of Asia

Among the Eastern kingdoms of Asia, Northern India carried on its brisk and flourishing trade with Philippine, Malaya Island[4] and coastal countries of Africa[5] via Bengal and Busserah. Till the year 1756 "The coasts of Coromondal, Malabar, the Gulf of Persia and Red Sea nay even Manilla, China and the coast of Africa were obliged to Benga for taking off their cotton, pepper, drugs, fruits, chank, cowries and tin etc. as on the other hand they were supplied from Bengal with wha they could not well be without, such as raw-silk and its various manu factures, opium, vast qualities of cotton cloth, rice, ginger, turmeric and long pepper etc. and all sorts of gruff goods."[6]

This trade continued till the close of the 18th century. Scrafton remarks, "Till of late years, inconceivable numbers of merchants from all parts of Asia in general .... used annually to resort to Bengal with little else than ready money of bills to purchase the produce of these provinces."[7]

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1. Forster, *Travels in India,* II, p. 103.
2. *The East India Gazetteer,* I, p. 10.
3. *A Description of Hindostan,* II, p. 34.
4. Dow, *The History of Hindostan,* I, p. c 11.
5. Plaisted found Indian fruits and corn at the Cape of Good Hope : For details see, *A Journal from Calcutta to Busserah,* p. 275.
6. Grose, *A Voyoge in the East Indies,* II, p. 235: Hill : *Bengal in 1756-57;* III, p. 300. The city of Balasore (in the province of Orissa) had considerable trade with Maldives Island, to which it supplied with rice and other grains and received in return cowries and coconut cables. Pennant, *A View of Hindostan,* II, p. 145 Also see, *A Journal from Calcutta to Busserah,* p. 227.
7. Bolts, *Considerations* etc. p. 21; *A Description of Hindostan,* I, p. 34.

Thus India carried on its foreign trade almost with all European and Asian countries. Macpherson sums up the foreign trade of Indian in the following lines, "These above mentioned (Indigo, cotton, Sugar, raw-silk, sunhemp) are the chief articles of agricultural produce of India which are imported into this country (England). But there are many others, which amply repay the industry of the cultivators and manufacturers, and supply the materials of a very extensive trade with all the coasts and Islands of Asia, as far as the Red Sea, and as far east as China and Manila, whereby the natives are comfortably supported, and even enriched· This trade, usually called the country trade, is in a great measure carried on by the capital and enterprise of the civil servants of the Company, and the free merchants living under their protection; and it is chiefly by this trade, which is entirely resigned to them by the Company, that their fortunes are acquired and not by plundering and oppressing the natives. There are also many merchants of Arabia, Persia, Armenia and the Oriental Islands employed in this trade, and some of them do business to a great amount. The cargoes in the contry trade consist of all the articles or produce and manufacture, which are brought from India to Europe, and also opium and rice to a great extent .... The manufactures of India have in all ages formed a most important part of the cargoes shipped for every country in the East. Indigo is brought largely by the Arabian merchants. Pepper and cotton are shipped for China to a very large extent"[1]

Northern India's Imports from Asia and Europe

India had large exports of its manufactures and other articles to Asia and Europe, but it had also to import certain things from those countries.

The most important imports from Asia constituted horses, fruits and precious stones. Kabul was the celebrated mart for horse trade and it was from there India imported horses.[2] Pennant remarks, "The great men of Hindustan supply their stables from Persia or Arabia at a prodigious price .... The countries about Kabul sent great number of horses, of Tartarian breed, to the great annual fairs of that city. They are brought up by the merchants and dispersed over the northern parts

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1 Macpherson (David), *The History of the European Commerce with India* (London, 1812) p. 391.

2. For details see, Pennant. *A View of Hindoostan* I. pp 11-12

of Hindustan."[1]

The merchants, who brought horses into India, came with the main aim of taking back Indian goods which were in high demands there and bore great profits to them. On this account they did not bother much even if they incured loss in their horse- deals, as they could earn more by taking Indian articles back there.[2]

Besides Kabul and Persia, India also imported horses from a village very famous for its good breed-horses, situated about four leagues to the coastward of Cape Verdistan.[3]

Fruits, dry and fresh, were imported from Persia, Bokhara, and Samarqand.[4] About the imports of fruits from Kabul, writes, Conolly, "The whole of Hindoostan is now supplied with dried and pressed fruits from Kabul."[5]

Among the precious stones, rubies from Badakhshan and pearls and sapphirs from Omen; were imported.[6]

In short, besides horses, fruits and precious stones, India imported from Asian countries, furs, shawls, madder, assafoetida and tobacco, etc.[7]

The impors of northern India from Europe consisted mostly woollen goods, carpets, broad cloth, copper, lead, iron and Maderia wine. The demand for the Maderia increased with the increase of European settlements in Bengal.[8]

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1. ibid, II, pp. 239-240 Also see: Conolly, Lieut. Arthur, *Journey to the North of India overland from England through Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan* (2nd ed. London. 1838) II, pp. 169-70. Writes Walter Hamilton "The horse trade is one of the considerable importance, A great number of horses are annually sold in the north of India, under the name of Kabul horses, and in the west that Qandhar horses; but almost the whole of these come from Turkistan "*The East India Gazetteer*. I, p. 10
2. Pennant, *A View of Hindoostan*. II. p. 170 Also see: Forster, *Travels in India* II. p. 79
3. For details see, *A Journal from Calcutta to Busserah*, pp. 17-18
4. For details see, Bernier, *Travels in India*, p. 249; Anand Ram Mukhis. *Mirat ul Istelah*, f 211a. Dargluh Quli Khan, *Muraqqa-i-Dehli* (Hyderabad) pp. 16-19, Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (Dehli, 1918). p. 30
5. *A Journal from Calcutta to Busserah*, II, p. 228 *Mirat al Istelah* f 162a

«امر اهر سال اسپ و میوه و دیگر جنس برسم تجارت جهت فروخت بشاهجهان آبادی فرستنه»

6. *Khulasat ut Tawarikh*. p. 31
7. *The East India Gazetteer*. I. p, 10
8. *Fort William* II, p. 10. 116

The letter of the Court of Directors, dated 23rd November 1759, refers to the export of near about 1000 bales of cloth, 50 bales of long ells, 250 tons of copper, 40 tons of iron and 5tons of steel, to Bengal. There was more cloth in that consignment than was ever sent to the Presidency of Bengal.[1]

Besides the above articles, India imported Glass from Europe for running its most famous arts of enemebling.[2]

In short, in Indian markets were found articles imported from China, the eastern Isles, and Gulf of Persia, aloes, assafoetida, benzoin, camphor, cardamoms, cossia Lingea, Cassia and Cassia buds, arraugoes, cowries, China roots, Cinnabar, Cloves, cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, elephant tooth, rattans, mother-o-pearls, pepper, quick-silver, rhubarb, sago, scammony, senna and saffron etc.[3]

Balance of Trade

During the period under study India was a self-sufficient country in almost every necessity of life, as they were the people having very limited wants and simple life. Certain precious stones and articles of luxuries were imported for the use of its kings and their nobility, on which account India's exports always exceeded its imports, making India the richest country of the world. "The commodities exported to Europe from India, "remarks James Forbes, "far exceeded in value those impported from thence; the natives of India, from the mildness of climate, and fertility of their soil, want but few foreign supplies, gold and silver have been always carried thither by European traders."[4]

Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, writing in 1176 A.H./1762-63, after highly applauding the prosperity of Indians and their opulence, remarks thus:

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1. *Fort William*, II, pp. 165-66; Letter 11th Nov. 1757, p. 48, Letter I, Nov., 1758, p. 116, 123-124. In 1787, the following goods of Britian were supplied for India. Beer, *Cochineal*, Carriages, cordoge, cabinet-ware, convas, floor cloths, glassware, hard ware, horse hair, Ironmongery, lamps, iron, lead, lines, and twine, mahogany, marble, oil, paint, plated ware, pictures, saffron, tin and woollen goods. Macpherson, *The History of the European Commerce with India*, p. 403.
2. *Mirat ul Istelah*. f. 207b.
3. For details see, *The East India Gazetteer*, I, p. 185.
4. *Oriental Memoirs* (2nd. ed. London, 1834) II, pp. 158-159.
The abstemious and simple life of the Indians was the reason that they depended

"India possesses gold, silver and other precious metals in abundance and only depends on others for cloths, The articles which India produce no country in the world can produce. The people of other countries depend on India for many quantities. Every year many ships ladden with Indian products leave the Indian shores for other countries and return ladden with gold and silver. The ships of other countries come to this country loaded with their own goods and carry in exchange, the Indian manufactures and they do not carry back the gold and silver. in exchange for their goods."[1]

In short, it is beyond doubt that during the first half of the 18th century northern India carried on a most favourable trade with foreign countries through Bengal as Dow observes, "The balance of trade therefore, was, against all nations, in favour of Bengal; and it was the sink where gold and silver disappeared, without the least prospect of return.[2] Similarly Grose opines, "The East Indies is a bottomless pit for bullion, which can never circulate back to Europe; and when bullion fails, that trade must cease. This is the present situation of all the kingdoms of Europe, with respect to the trade which they carry on with the East Indies."[3]

(foot note contd. from page 237)

very little on others while others depended on them for many things as a result of which India had a most favourable trade with foreign countries since the ages. Macpherson (David) observes. "Born and desiring to pass his life in the same country, where his ancestors.... were born and passed their lives, whose food is rice, whose drink is water or milk, to whom wine or strong liquor is an object of abomination.... whose warm climate renders any clothing, beyond what decency requires, intolerable, and whose light clothing is made by himself and his family from the cotton produce in his own fertile fields, whose cottons and religion.... render utterly inadmissible many articles, of enjoyment and comfort... can never have any desire to acquire the produce or manufactures of Europe." *History of the European Commerce with India.* (London, 1812) p. 391

1. Azad Bilgrami, *Khazana-i-Amera* (2nd. ed. N.K. Cawnpur, 1900) p. III,
2. Dow, The History of Indostan (London, 1872) I. p. ixii (Intro)
3. For details see, Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, I, p. 324-25. Verelst while discussing the causes of the drain of currency from Bengal elucidates the former favourable trade of northern India via Bengal thus : Whatever sums had formerly been remitted to Dehly were amply reimbursed by the returns made to the immense commerce of Bengal, which might be considered as the central point to which all the riches of India, were attracted. It's manufactures found their way

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF FOREIGN TRADE

More than one cause was responsible for the decline of India's foreign trade. For instance, the political conditions of the countries with which India had commercial relations; and the political conditions of northern India itself, and the development of science and technology in Europe, all these factors gradually put a check on the progress of it and ultimately converted India as a raw-materials producing country.

1. *Disorder and anarchic state affairs in the Asiatic Countries*

Dow has summarised the political situation of Asia as follows:—

"Persia, about 30 years ago a great and flourishing empire, has been torn into pieces and almost depopulated by the cruelties of Nadir Shah, and since his assassination in 1747. A.D by unremitting civil wars. The few inhabitants, who escaped the rage of the sword sit down in the midst of poverty. Georgia and Armenia, who shared the troubles of Persia, shared also her untoward fate. Indigence has shut up the doors of commerce; vanity was disappeared with wealth and men content themselves with the coarse manufactures of their native countries. Egypt rebelled: Babylonia, under its Basha, revolted. The distracted state of the former has almost shut up the trade by caravans, from Suez to Cario; from the latter of which, the manufactures of Bengal were conveyed by sea to all parts of the Ottoman dominions. The rapacity of the Basha of Bagdad, which is increased by the necessity of keeping a great standing force to support his usurpation, has environed with terror the walls of Busserah, which circumstance has almost annihilated its commerce with Syria .... Trade is in a manner unknown; the merchants of Busserah are ruined: and there were last year in the warehouses of the city, of the manufactures of Bengal, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, which could not be sold for half the prime

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(foot note contd. from page 238)

to the remotest parts of India, and specie flowed in by a thousand channels that at present lost and obstructed. All the European Companies formed their investments with the money brought to the country, the Gulphs (Persian and Mocha Gulfs) poured into the treasures in to this country; and across the continent, and inland trade was driven to the westward to the extermity of the kingdom of Guzzerat. *A View of the Rise* etc. p. 59.

cost."[1]

Thus, the death of Nadir Shah followed a period in which every petty chief became the master of the territories which he had usurped. As his right, every independent chief began to levy high custom duties on the merchants who passed through their territories. This had an adverse effect on the trade between India and Asian countries. In case of non-payment of the custom-duties, the merchants were looted and plundered."[2] Formerly the commerce of Bengal," observes Verelst, "with different countries of the East, had yielded a very considerable balance, paid in bullion; but this trade, which was greatly affected by the troubles in Persia...."[3]

2. *Political conditions in Northern India*

Much has been written against the Mughal government, calling it as an autocratic, callous and rapacious and devoid of any interest in the development of trade and commerce. But the contemporary sources, if carefully studied, tell us that the Mughal government was a great protector of its mercantile communities and took every care that no injustice was to be done to them, otherwise they would cease to carry on trade, on which depended the very prosperity of India. "While the Mogul government was in vigor, "remarks Grose, "there was such a

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1. *Dow, The History of Hindusian*, I, pp. CXIV-CXVI About the political unrest and anarchy in the Persian empire, Bartholomew Plaisted gives an eye witness account in the following lines : "The Shah was at a distance from the Southern Provinces, which rendered travelling unsafe even in caravans; for each head of a town or village looked upon himself as an independent sovereign; and demand exorbitant duties on all those who pass through their districts, and were liable to be plundered for non-payment. In peace time a single man might have passed safely from one extermity of Persia to the other without any danger, but since the tyranny and depredation of Nadir Shah the whole country had assumed a new face, for there was now not above one house in ten but was deserted of inhabitants." *A Journal from Calcutta in Bengal, by sea to Busserah* etc. (London, 1758, 2nd edition): p. 11. William Forster remarks, "since its empire has been rent into pieces, has suffered severe devastations, and has been grievously depopulated. The various petty chiefs, who hold themselves but the rulers of a day are often incited to oppress the inhabitants and impose heavy duties on the merchants." *Forsters Travels*, II, p. 178.
2. Bartholomew Plaisted, *A Journal from Calcutta to Busserah* : II, pp. 14, 24-25.
3. *A View of the Rise etc.* pp, 85-86.

show of justice, as induced the merchants of all religions and denominations to take shelter under it. The Gentoos especially resorted to it, and took up their abode there, not only on account of trade, but preferring a Moorish form of government to the living under Gentoo who had none at all. And it must be owned, great care was taken that no very flagrant acts of oppressions should be committed."[1]

On account of the prevailing political chaos and upheavals, in Bengal and Punjab, which were the principal exporting areas, the forces acting against the trade and commerce gained momentum and disrupted trade and commerce with the kingdoms and Islands of Asia.[2] The victory of the English at the battle of Plassy, established the political and commercial superiority of the East India Company.[3] From that time onward it started conducting trade both at home and abroad after liquidating all other foreign mercantile communities. This new situation, then chaged the old existing commercial and trade relations with foreign countries. As is evident from the procceding of January, 15th, 1759, the merchants of Calcutta sent a petition to Lord Clive, in 1759, putting forth their grievances, for his active and serious delibrations, with regard to the trade with Persian Gulf. This was due to the heavy

1. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, I, pp. 99-100. The wars fought between the Nawabs and their refactory and unscrupulous military aristocracy and the Marathas invaders, caused great harm to the inland and foreign trade of Bengal. "We may easily count for its decline, by the continued wars which have of late years wasted the whole country, and in the fomenting of which we have too large share". Bengal: *Past and Present* (July-Sept., 1933) p. 28.
2. As a result of the frequent invasions of the Marathas in the eastern provinces of northern India, the manufacturers could not devote required time and skill in their manufactures, thus they produced articles of inferior quality. This occasioned disrepute of them in the Asian countries and its demand declined. Holwell, (J.Z.) *Interesting Historical Events* (2nd. ed. London, 1766) pp. 151-152. Letter to the Court of Directors of 29th Dec. 1759 records, "The late troubles up the country and the unsettled state of the province of Behar has hitherto prevented our sending any broad cloth or copper to the factory of Patna. *Fort William* II. p. 439
3. Observes Henry Vansittart, "From a commercial body.... are become from this moment a military and political body." *A Narative of the Transactions in Bengal* (London, 1766) p. 22. For details see: ibid. pp. 22-23

impositions of port duties at Surat and Busserah.[1]

While objectively assessing the total results of the occupation of Bengal by the English and its adverse affects on Indian foreign trade, in general, and Bengal, in particular, Forster remarks thus:

"Previous to the era in which the English became possessed of Bengal, the different nations who visited it, were, obliged to give specie for the greatest portion of the commodities they purchased, there being but a small proportion of articles taken in bartar by the natives. The specie of commerce so lucrative to India and which must have deposite a large amount of gold and silver continued for upwards of a century and a half. But, after the English government was established in Bengal, the necessity of this commercial system became sufficient to purchase the cargoes of the country, and to defray the public expenditure, here, one channel of the inflex of specie into Bengal was stopped and it will be found, also, that the revolutions, which in that quarter, advanced the fortunes of the English, have materially lessened the like imports of the other European nations, who traded to Bengal. For, exclusively of finding a current sale for their commodities, they have been enabled to procure, from the English, large sums of money, for bills on Europe."[2]

The trade and commerce between Sindh and Afghanistan declined owing to the impositions of high duties on the commercial merchand-

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1. For details see, Long (J) *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government* (Govt. of India Press. 1869) I. pp. 169-73
   Bolts informs us that merchants from Asian countries had been prevented from having commercial relations with the all three eastern provinces of northern India." All merchants from the interior parts of Asia effectively prevented from having any merchantile intercourse with Bengal, while, at the same time, the natives in general are, in fact, deprived of all trade within those provinces." *Considerations on Indian Affairs*. p. 206
2. *Forster's Travels in India*, I, pp. 3-4
   Verelst observes, "Within the space of four or five years, the exportation of Bengal manufactures by the several European companies, had increased to more than 700,000 f per annum, beyond the extent of their former investment. That by our company alone amounted, in the year 1771, to 768, 500 f. sterling wholly purchased with the revenues of the country and without importing a single ounce of silver. Foreign companies like wise bought their goods with money received from private individuals, who took bills for the amount upon the respective companies in Europe. Thus an influx of bullion, which in former times exceeded in million sterlings annually was, by the great change in our situation, effectively obstructed;" For further details see, *A View of Rise etc.* 85-86; 116.

dises by the Amirs of Sindh. "The Hyderabad Ameers", observes Conolly, "endeavour to keep the trade in the roads, and the Ameers of Khirpur, by injudiciously exacting large and irregular duties have discouraged the merchants from opening a new through their territory to the northern western Provinces........."[1]

3. *High duties on Imports and exports*

To discourage the foreigners to trade with India and the Indian merchants too, the company started imposing high duties both on imports and exports. Forster remarks, "It hath, also been alleged, that, within these years, the maritime trade of Bengal has received a check from an embargo, or, what is tantamount, an excessive high duty laid on the importation of foreign salt. This restriction has reduced the number of ships, and lessened the considerable exportation of grain, which, before that period, annually took place at the port of Calcutta."[2]

The Company had established custom houses by the river side and duties on all sea imports and exports were collected on the spot.[3] 4 p.c. duty was to be paid on all goods, imported by shipping into Calcutta.[4] The goods imported or exported from western coast to India or India to western coast was to be manifested at the several places from where they were ladden and a duty-clearance certificate was to be issued by the Company's Governors, chiefs or any other proper authority.[5] In case of failing in this regard their goods were to be confiscated, half was to be given to the informant and the remaining half to the Company.[6]

4. *The East India Company reserved its exclusive rights of exporting piece-goods to the Asian countries*

Before the establishment of the Company's rule in the eastern pro-

1. Lieut. Arthur Conolly, *Journey of the North of India* etc. (London, 1838) II, 226. Khafi Khan informs us that due to the weakness of the central government Isa Khan, a zamindar, raised the standard of revolt and began to attack and plunder the caravans on their way to Kashmir and Kabul. For details see, *K.K.* (Text) II. p. 767.
2. *Forster, Travels in India* I, p. 9 "That the revolutions, which in that quarter advanced the fortunes of the English, have materially lessened the like imports of the other European nations, who traded in Bengal", Ibid, I, p. 4.
3. *Fort William*, p. 445.
4. Ibid. II, p. 445.
5. Ibid, II, p. 17.
6. Ibid, II, pp. 17-18.

vinces of northern India, merchants from all the inland parts of Asia and as far as Tartary could freely resort to Bengal. But after the consolidation of the Company's power, they were forbidden to trade with the eastern provinces.[1] But even then some of the merchants on their own risk flocked there and suffered heavy lossess on account of their goods being confiscated.[2] Bolts, thus, explains the state of affairs in the following lines:

"Frequent instances have been known of the goods of private merchants, even Europeans[3], but particularly of these belonging to Armenians, Moguls, Gentoos, being in consequence of this monopoly, stopped on the public road, and forcefully carried to the ware-house and the proprietors of such goods have been obliged contrary to their wills to see their goods shipped on vessels they had not good opinion of, and going on Voyages, whose destination and management were often contrary to their own private scheme of trade; in consequence of which unwarrantable proceedings, those merchants have frequently lost their sales, have had their goods damaged........ and have sometimes lost even goods themselves".[4]

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1. Bolts, *Considerations* etc: p. 199.
2. Ibid, p. 199.
3. Taylor (Colonel) remarks, "The trade to India, it is well known, has, from the earliest periods, excited the desire of all countries to participate in it. The nations who have been so fortunate as to obtain this pre-eminence have been raised to a degree of wealth and power unattainable by any other means, and it is only when the current of Eastern commerce has been diverted fortuilously into other channels that the people who enjoyed it have ceased to be opulent". *Letters on India* (London, 1800) pp. 88, 164.
4. Bolts, *Considerations* (London, 1772) pp. 195-197; 73. Verelst informs us that northern India's trade with Persia and countries of the East was always in the former's favour bring large bullion in India, but "was now ruined by our overgrown influence of the European companies; who engrossed all the manufactures of Bengal. Such was the rigor exercised to complete the quantity required by our Directors, that the Nabob has found it difficult to procure the necessary supply for his household, without making application to the English agents, "*A View of the Rise etc.*" p. 86, 116, 120-21. Also see, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin* (E.T.) III, p. 203; The Nawab of Bengal demonstrated against this attitude of the Company and he wrote a letter in this connection which runs as follows:

   "The Syads, Moghuls, Armenians etc. merchants of Houghly have complained that lakhs of Goods and Treasures with their ships you have seiged and plundered, and I am informed from Foreign parts that ships bound to Houghly you

The Company had directed certain merchants, who traded with Asian countries, not to trade.[1] The Company had monopolised the foreign trade relating to salt, iron and opium [2]

The increasing restrictions and disadvantages with which the free trade of India was fettered by the Company created confusion and most of the merchants who carried on foreign trade were reduced to bankruptcy. On the other hand the most important channel through which northern India received riches dried up causing insolvency of India. During the years 1766-1768 the balance of rupees 50,55,000 was against Bengal.[3]

On account of those restrictions and disadvantageous considerations the trade between India and Pegue, Siam and Malay declined. "A brisk and important trade is yet carried on", remarks Forster", at Calcutta. The advantageous traffic that subsisted formerly between this port and Pegue, Siam and the Malay Islands, now feebly remains, and, unless some favourable change is speedily effected, bears the appearance of a tolal failure."[4]

In the one hand the company imposed all possible restrictions on India's foreign trade which was always on it's favour, on the other it started importing every thing such as cloth, yarn, utensil, horses and other animals from England and selling them in every city and village of Hindustan by which they enjoyed huge profits. By this way the Indians were deprived of the benefit from this profession resulting their withdrawal from this trade.[5]

(foot note contd. from page 244)

seized on under pretence of their belonging to the French. The ship belonging to Antony with lakhs on Board from Mochei, and several curiosities sent for me by the Sheriff of that place on that ship you also seized and plundered. These merchants are the kingdoms benefactors, their imports and exports are an advantage to all men, and their complaints are so grievious that I cannot for bear any longer giving ear to them." Long (J) *Selections from Unpublished Records*, I, Consultations, II, January, 1749; p. 17

1. Bolts, Considerations etc., p. 73.
2. *Fort William*, II, p. 18.
3. For details see, Verelst, *A View of the Rise etc.* pp. 117-119.
4. Forster, *Travels in India*, I, p. 9.
5. *An Unpublished Letter of Maulana Fazl Haq Khairabadi* (Nava-i-Adab, July, 1962) p. 41.

As early as 1757, the decay of India's foreign trade was seriously noted by the Court of Directors.[1]

5. *Money-exchange Problem*

The dismemberment of the Mughal government on the one hand and the prevailing disruptionists tendencies in Asian countries on the other brought forth the serious money-exchange problem. With the rise of the independent provincial states in India and Asia, every state, as a mark of their independent status, began to mint their own coins due to which the standard coins acceptable at par within and without ceased to exist. Bartholomew Plaisted noted that at Busserah, the Mamoodi was the current coin. When Surat rupee was exchanged with the Mamoodi, on every hundred Surat rupee, there was a loss of 1-11-8.[2]

6. *European goods imported by the Asiatic countries*

By this time the Asian countries began to import goods from Europe. Writing about Allepo and Cyprus, Bartholomew Plaisted observes, "The imports are French and Venetian Broad cloth, and sometimes a few bales of British manufactures".[3]

7. *Industrial Revolution*

Apart from other commodities, the principal goods of export from India to Europe and Asia consisted of cotton and silken cloths. "The skill of the Indians", writes Prof. Weber, "in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, and in all matters of technical arts, has from early times enjoyed a world-wide celebrity ...... Mummies in Egyptian tombs, dating from 2000 B.C., have been found wrapped in Indian muslins of the finest quality. The muslins of Decca were known to the Greeks under the name of Gangetika. There was a large consumption of Indian manufactures in Rome. This is confirmed by elder Pliny, who complained that vast sums of money were annually absorbed by commerce with India. Thus it may be safely concluded that in India the arts of cotton spinning and cotton weaving were in a high state of proficiency two thousand years ago......cotton weaving was introduced

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1. *Fort William*, II, Letters of 25th March, 1757, p. 34.
2. For details see, *A Journal from Calcutta to Busserah*, pp. 97-98.
3. For details see, *A Journal from Calcutta to Busserah*, pp. 128-129.

into England only in the 17th century."[1]

Thus the Industrial Revolution in Europe enabled those countries to manufacture cotton and silk goods, which formerly imported from India, for home consumption, though in the early stages it did not have desired demand, and gradually the importation of those goods were greatly curtailed by high duties on imports and Acts of Parliament. Writes William Milburn, "The great cheapness of Indian silks occasioned the wear of them to become almost universal throughout England, to remedy which, an act was passed for encouraging the home manufactures, which enacted. "That from Michaelmas, 1701, all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuff mixed with silk or herba, of the manufactures of Persia......or the East Indies, should be locked up in ware-houses till re-exported so that none of the said goods should be worn or used, in either apparel or furniture, in England, on for future there of and also of f 200 penalty on the person having or selling any of them."[2] By the Act of 1765, all articles related to cotton and silken manufactures of India were totally prohibited from importation into England.[3]

8. *Free-Trade*

Piece-goods constituted as the monopolised article of export of the East India Company to Europe. But later on this commerce was opened to all enterprisers, the result of which was that goods of inferior quantities began to flood in the English markets and the prices began to

1. *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1907) III, p. 195.
2. *Oriental Commerce*, II, p. 249; 231.
3. Ibid, II, p. 252. For different Acts passed by the Parliament of England for the protection of its own home industries see, *Oriental commerce*, II, pp. 250-252. Taylor remarks that, "From the restrictions laid on the trade with India, it would seem that our Eastern colonies have been regarded not as certain and permanent, but as uncertain and fugacious possessions: not as possessions worthy of cultivation, but as a fortuitous possessions, to be reaped at once, and the grain to be carried off as just and as completely as possible without even leaving seed for the future crops. *Letters on India* etc. (London, 1800) p. 164. Also see, Macpherson (David) *The History of the European Commerce*, p. 282. According to the charter of 1801, "They (the Companys servant) also offered to convey British manufactures to any amount upon private account to India, and to bring home the returns in raw material or any other produce or manufactures except piece-goods and salt-petre," Macpherson, *The History of European Commerce etc.*, p. 236,

fell speedily. "25 years preceeding 1798", writes Macpherson, "the Company, conducting their trade in all its branches upon the prudent mercantile principle, imported annually 643, 993 pieces of Bengal piece-goods, which sold at the average price, f. 1-14-8. But when the inordinate importation of the private merchants began to deluge the market, the price fell, and continued falling lower and lower till the year 1806, when the average price was brought down to f 0.14-9, till it came down to f. 0.12-0.[1]

While discussing the main causes which led to the drain of wealth in India, Verelst opines that apart from the huge wealth that was taken away by Mir Qasim from Bengal,[2] each Company carried on it's investments from the income of the country without adding any rupee to the riches of the provinces, but the third cause, the most important one, was the restraint on the export". He further adds, "we know of no foreign trade existing at present, which produces a clear balance in money, except that carried on with ports of Judda, Mocha and Busserah, from whence not fifteen lakhs in bullion have been returned in the course of four years."[3] In short, the annual import of specie fell from one crore to 26 lakhs.[4]

The latter to the Court of Directors, dated Feb., 16, 1758, thus indicates the principal cause which led to the decline of Indian foreign trade:

"The compalint of the decay of trade in India is not without foundation, that the ruin of some principal marts abroad, the exactions of Late Nawabs of Bengal...... the great quantities of sugar made by the Dutch at Batavia and carried from thence to Surat and the Gulph of Persia, there will be no room to be surprised at the decay of so much complained of."[5]

Muhammed Umar

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1. *The History of European Commerce with India*, p.406.
2. Macpherson, *The History of European Commerce with India*, p. 187.
3. For details see, *A View of the Rise etc.* p. 59.
4. For details see, Ibid, p. 59.
5. Long (J) *Selections from Unpublished Records etc.* p. 119.

THE SUBAH OF KASHMIR UNDER THE LATER MUGHALS 1708 - 1748

The *subah* of Kashmir in the middle of the 18th century affords a typical illustration of anarchy which then prevailed in several dominions of the Mughal Empire. During this period Kashmir remained secure from the Maratha incursions, and no foreign invader—Nadir Shah or Ahmad Shah—threatened its indefensible frontiers. It was rarely disturbed by wars of such violence, duration and magnitude as were fought in Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal. Almost in every province governors and local chieftains sought to establish themselves in an independent position. In Kashmir, on the other hand, no military adventurer rose to carve out a principality, although forces of repression were less effective here than in other parts of the empire. And yet, storms of strife and lawlessness lashed its surface and raged unabated, causing havoc and ruin all round. The Happy Valley, once a pleasure resort for the kings,[1] was shaken by the revolts of turbulent tribes, disaffected peasants and masses of the urban poor. Periodic famines, caused both by floods and drought, added to the woes of the suffering millions. Contributing further to there affliction was the sharp rise in unemployment and prices even during normal times.

The lower classes in society indulged in rioting while more elevated groups signed petitions against governors who were mainly responsible for the economic difficulties and social conflicts. The later Mughals, whose general policy was based on appeasement of the bureaucracy, dismissed, on more than one occasion, the inefficient and corrupt governors of Kashmir. But the appointments of experienced and vigorous governors were unaccompanied by economic and administrative reforms without which permanent peace or harmony could not be ensured. In consequence, widespread and protracted disturbances, forms of popular

1. Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan visited Kashmir several times; and in 1663 Aurangzeb also went there to recoup his health. Among the later Mughals only Bahadur Shah had plans to go to Kashmir but he died at Lahore (27 February 1712) before his desire was fulfilled 'Azam Khan, *Waqai'at-i-Kāshmir*. Aligarh MS. f. 195b; J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1952, Vol. V, p, 339,

protest, continued as a recurring phenomenon. As the central go ment miserably failed to resist the Maratha expansion and drive the foreign armies, so they could not tackle the problems of don peace and economy of this small territory. The challenge thus ass varied forms in different places and the Mughal institutions, mi and civil, proved chronically incapable of responding to it. The f of decadence in action in Kashmir serves to form a comprehensive of their operation throughout the empire. The confused and trou events which this article attempts to analyse, were the effect and not cause of the inherent weakness of the Mughal administrative system completely collapsed after the death of Muhammad Shah. In the s span of 40 years Kashmir was governed by twenty *subedars*[1] wh in Aurangzeb's reign of half a century only twelve governors appointed.[2] Very few governors, under the later Mughals, held for more than two years; the average tenure of most of them did exceed a year. Most of the governors administered the province th gh their deputies who were scarcely distinguished by talents either military or civil administration. Their main aim was to enjoy abuse the advantages of wealth and power. None of them sho the least interest to maintain the royal authority or ameliorate the l the people.[3]

During the reign of Bahadur Shah four governors were appoi for enforcing and maintaining the royal authority in Kashmir. Ja' Khan, son of Ja'afar Khan,[4] was the first governor,[5] who made Khw 'Abdullah Deh Bedi his duputy. A few months later, Ja'afar K came to Srinagar and assumed the duties of his office. He follow

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1. Dr. R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule In Kashmir*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 33
2. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol.V, p. 344.
3. Writing about the condition of Kashmir in the 17th century J. N. Sarkar "The villagers were half-naked boors, living in abject poverty, ignorance filth. The towns-men, too, had not a much happier lot, though for a diff reason.... To its inhabitants Kashmir was often a very unhappy valley, and utterly degraded condition would be the standing disgrace of the Mughal a nistration if we were to judge it by modern standards of the duties of the st "*History of Auranzeb*, Vol. V, p. 343.
4. For details of his biography, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Text, Vol. I, pp. 531-535.
5. Hadi Khan Kamwar, *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtaiya*, Aligarh MS. f. He held the *mansab* 5,000/2,000.

harsh and unjust policy towards the people. By the meanness of his character he so offended them that they sought redress of their grievances through petition to the imperial court.[1] He did not survive more than one year and three months as death came to him in 1708. Ibrahim Khan,[2] son of 'Ali Mardan Khan, *nazim* of Kabul, succeeded him; but he, too, passed away the moment he set foot on the soil of Kashmir. Now the Emperor assigned the governorship to Nawazish Khan who asked 'Arif Khan,[3] *diwan* of the *subah*, to act on his behalf. 'Arif Khan was a capable and just administrator; his integrity and hardwork won for him the title of Amanat Khan. At this time floods, caused by rainstorms, desolated large number of villages, and about 40 thousand houses in Srinagar were gutted by fire. Early in 1711, Nawazish Khan was replaced by 'Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri.[4] As the new governor held the post of *Khan-i-saman* in the central government, he allowed 'Arif Khan to carry on the administration in his absence. However, 'Arif Khan, at the height of power and popularity, died in the same year.[5]

The governor sent Nai'matullah Khan alias Musharraf Khan, his son-in-law, to rule over the province. .At this time the local administra-

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1. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 194b.
2. He was the eldest son of the Amir-ul-Umara 'Ali Mardan Khan. In the second year of his reign Aurangzeb raised Ibrahim Khan to the rank of 5,000/5,000 and appointed him to the government of Kashmir. Bahadur Shah transferred him to Afghanistan, but he could not administer the province properly. He was replaced by Nasir Khan. Ibrahim Khan consequently came to Sodhara, 30 kos west of Lahore and died there. The author of *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* does not mention that he was ever appointed *subedar* of Kashmir by Bahadur Shah. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 295-301; Mirza Muhammad, on the other hand, holds that Ibrahim Khan, *Mansabdar* of 7,000/-, was the governor of Kashmir and h. died in 1710. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 27.
3. 'Arif Khan alias Kazi Muhammad Faruq was the grandson of Arif Khan, the elder. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 194b.
4. ʿInayatullah Khan was first employed in the Mughal goveanment as an accountant in the *jawahir Khana* (jewel-room). Aurangzeb, in the 36 regnal year, promoted him to the office of *diwan-i-tan*, and in 45 regnal year made him *diwan-i-khalisah*, increasing his rank to 1,500/250. Bahadur Shah appointed him *Khan i-saman* or High Steward. For biographical details:- *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 828-832; *Tazkirat-us-salatin-i-Chaghtaiya*, f. 318b.
5. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. p. 60. According to its author Abul Qasim, alias ʿArif Khan, son of Kazi ʿArif Kashmiri, died at the age of 77 in 1723.

tion grew weak and lax; and the law and order situation deteriorated.[1] Jahandar Shah (29 March 1712-19 January 1713) relieved 'Inayatullah Khan from the responsiblities of *Khan-i-saman*, which were given to his son, Hidayatullah Khan,[2] and sent him to restore order and authority of government. His brief term 8 to 9 months witnessed the insurrection of Muzaffar Khan, the Bamba leader of the Jhelum Valley below Baramula. He challenged the governor by refusing to pay tribute and above all by occupying the *khalisah mahals* of Darva and Karnah in the *pargana* of Kamraj. 'Inayatullah Khan despatched a punitive expedition against the rebels and took strong measures to quell the disturbances which arose simultaneously in other areas.[3] Before his vigorous efforts could bring fruitful results, his son was executed (28 March 1713) at Delhi,[4] and he had to make room for Sādāt Khan,[5] father-in-law of the new Emperor Farrukh Siyar. 'Inayatullah Khan went to Lahore and from there proceeded direct to Hejaz.[6]

Sādāt Khan preferred to remain at the court and entrusted the provincial administration to his deputy, 'Ali Muhammad Khan, reputed for experience and firmness. The deputy-governor took over the charge

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1. Abdul Qadir Khan, *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, Aligarh MS. f. 52b.
2. In the reign of Bahadur Shah he served the government as *diwan* of *Khalisah-wa-Tan*. When Zulfiqar Khan refused to accept the post of *wizarat*, after the death of Munim Khan on 15 February 1711, he received the title of Wizarat Khan and began to conduct the political and financial affairs under the supervision of Prince Azim-ush-Shan. Impressed by his honesty and loyalty, the emperor bestowed on him the title of Sad-ullah Khan and the rank of 7,000/-. He also became the *darogha* of *Dak wa sawanih* (Superintendent of the Postal Department). "Half of the supreme power, rather the whole of it fell into his hands." In the reign of Jahandar Shah he continued to hold the privileged position as he was closely connected with Khan Jhan Kokaltash, the *Mir Bakhshi*. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 504-508; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 31.
3. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 896a.
4. For details of his execution, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, pp. 276-277.
5. Sādāt Khan, alias Saiyid Husain Khan, was a Mughal noble of Turkish origin. His daughter, Fakhr un Nisa Begam, was married to Farrukh Siyar. She was the mother of Malika uz Zaman, the wife of Muhammad Shah. Sādāt Khan was killed on 28 February 1719 in a clash with the Barha troops in Chandni Chowk at Delhi. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 524-527; *Tarikh i Muhammadi*, p. 39.
6. Sādāt Khan held the *mansab* of 6,000/5,000. *Tazkirat-us-salatin-i-Chaghtaiya*, f. 341 b.

in the beginning of 1713 and continued in his office for nearly two years (1713-1715). He, with the help of 'Abdul 'Azim Khan, an Irani noble and *diwan* of the *subah*, successfully suppressed the rebellion of Muzaffar Khan and his son Haibat Khan. 'Abdul Razzaq Gujjar, son of Abdul Fateh, a powerful *zamindar* of Punch, also suffered defeat and submitted; he agreed to pay the annual tribute and abondon his predatory activities.[1] These compaigns drained the resources of the government, obliging 'Ali Muhammad Khan to impose illegal taxes on the inhabitants of Srinagar and other towns. Outraged by his repressive methods, they made complaints against the deputy; as a result of which he was replaced by 'Azam Khan.[2] He lived in Kashmir for a period of less than a year;[3] after that he was superseded by 'Ali Muhammad Khan who, in the meantime, had regained the favour of Sadat Khan.[4] 'Ali Muhammad Khan could govern the province for a year. His successor, Ahtiram Khan, soa-in-law of the governor, worked only for 17 days when he, along with Sādāt Khan, was dismissed in 1717.[5] The next governor was 'Inayatullah Khan who, on his return from Mecca, rose to favour and power at the imperial court.[6] Aqa Beg Khan, *diwan* of the *subah*, was asked to perform the functions of the deputy-governor till permanent arrangements were made. Subsequently, Mir Ahmad Khan, famous for bravery and administrative capacity, was appointed deputy-governor of Kashmir.[7]

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1. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 200b.
2. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 53b.
3. 'Azam Khan held the *mansab* of 4,000/4,000, and he was transferred to Thatta. *Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chaghtaiya*, f. 348a.
4. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 53b.
5. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 201a.
6. On 7 January 1717 Farrukh Siyar received Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri with favour and sympathy. The Emperor expunged with his own hands the disparaging remarks, entered in the official history, about his son Hidayatullah Khan. On 12 April 1717 he was raised to the rank of 4,000/3,000 and appointed to be *diwan* of the *khalisah* and *Tan*, also to be governor of Kashmir. At his suggestion the Emperor imposed *Jaziya*. He also tried to reform the system of assignments but owing to the opposition of the *wazir* he could not succeed in his plans. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. II p. 773.
7. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 54a.

In the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign[1] there occured a civil conflict in Srinagar which shattered the provincial government and dispelled the secular and cosomopolitan tendencies whose influence was specially marked in the first half of the 18th century. The disturbances were stirred up by the Mulla Abdul Nabi alias Muhtavi Khan, the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Kashmir. Formerly he held a *manasb* and *jagir* granted by Bahadur Shah. Under Farrukh Siyar he was deprived of both, and his principal source of income was gone. In vain he strove hard to regain the possession of his worldly status. Maddened by despair, Muhtavi Khan gave vent to his deep resentment by launching a crusade against Hindus of the valley.[2] He solicted the aid of Mir Ahmad Khan[3] for the purpose of executing his plan which aimed at imposing taxes and some social restrictions on the non-Muslims. The governor shrank from taking such drastic measures against a section of the populace who exercised great influences not only in the public life of Kashmir but also at the imperial court. But his failure to prevent the disorders and punish the guilty of violence led to his own dismissal. Taking advantage of the weakness of the law-enforcing authorities Muhtavi Khan siezed some *khalisah mahals* and his supporters indulged in downright and unabashed license. Saiyid Athar Khan and some *mansabdars*, who bore a private grudge againts him, conspired and caused the death of Muhtavi Khan. He was killed on 12 September 1720; at the house of 'Abdullah Khan, the *mir-bakhshi* of Kashmir, where a large crowd of his enemies had assembled.[4]

1. On 28 February 1719 Farrukh Siyar was deposed and Rafi-ud-Darajat, son of Rafi-ush- shan, was enthroned by the Saiyid brothers, He reigned only three months and 9 days. Because of hopeless condition of his health, Rafi-ud-Darajat abdicated in favour of his brother, Rafi-ud-Daulah who was crowned on 6 June 1719. A weakling and sickly man of 21 years, Rafi-ud-Daulah died on 18 September 1719. Ten days later, on 28 September 1719 Muhammad Shah, son of Jahan Shah, ascended the throne. For details, Qasim Laheri, *Tarikh-i-Sultanate-Farrukh Siyar*, B.M. MS. ff. 74-78; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, pp. 816, 829-831,
2. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. II, p. 867; *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, p. 57.
3. Mir Ahmad Khan was the son of Mir Ahmad Khan, governor of Burhanpur, who lost his life fighting gallantly in a battle with the Marathas. Mir Ahmad Khan received the title of his father and became *faujdar* of *chakla* Eminabad in the Punjab. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 760.
4. For a detailed account of these events : *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 761-675; *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 209.

Srinagar was doomed to be swept away in the reaction following the murder of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and his two sons; it released an extraordinary ferment of sectarian passions which continued to work for a long time. In the clashes between rival groups a large number of persons lost their lives while others were stripped bare of their possessions. On the scene appeared another formidable fanatic in the person of Sharaf-ud-Din, third son of Muhtavi Khan. He followed the way of his father instigating and organizing his supporters, mainly composed of the students, against the government and Hindus.[1] The law-enforcement machinery broke down and the situation went completely out of control. The next deputy-governor, Momin Khan,[2] also failed to take a more vigorous action against the disturbers of peace.[3] Alarmed by the rapid and unchecked spread of turbulence, Muhammad Shah placed the provincial administration under the charge of 'Abdul Samad Khan,[4] dismissing both 'Inayatullah Khan and Momin Khan. 'Abdul Samad Khan as the head of a strong army entered Kashmir early in the month of October 1721 and arrested Sharaf-ud-Din, the leader of agitation, and his close companions. The malefactors paid dearly for their crimes; fifty of them were hanged. He recognised distinct culture and historic traditions of the Hindus; they were allowed to wear turbans, ride and put

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1. Muhammad Ali Khan, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Aligarh MS. p. 269; *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 54a.
2. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. p. 121.
3. *Asrar-i-Samdi*, Lahore, 1965, p. 32.

چناں کرد طوفان شورش بپا   که کشمیررا آب زردر بنا
شدنداز تپ بیم و ترس گریز   غریباں کشمیر شیراں هیز
چناں خون فشاں گشت چشم جهاں   که نرگس گل آوردوشدارغواں
گل ولاله از دید هارو نهخت   که نورستهٔ کشمیر را در گفت

4. His original name was 'Abdur Rahim and he was the son of 'Abdul Karim. He belonged to Samarqand and claimed his descent from Khwajah Nasir-ud-Din Ubaidullah Ahrar, a famous Naqshbandi saint (d. 895 H.). Starting his career as *mansabdar* of 400/- he rose to the rank of 5,000/- in the reign of Farrukh Siyar who conferred on him the *subedari* of Lahore with the title of Diler Jang in 1713. Next year the Emperor promoted him for his victory over the Sikhs to the *mansab* of 7,000/7,000 and bestowed on him the title of Saif-ud-Daulah. For details: *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 514-517.

castemark on their heads.[1]

Having spent 6 months in restoring normalcy in the strife-stricken valley, 'Abdul Samad Khan went to Lahore and sent Abdul Barkat Khan[2] to Srinagar.[3] He used strong-arms methods to repress the unruly elements among the *mansabdars* and pension-holders;[4] but he showed little interest in promoting public welfare and neglected the discharge of his duties. The people, whose needs of peace and cheap bread met with no adequate response, voiceferously demanded his removal from the office. The governor yielded to popular clamour and appointed Najib Khan Ahrari who held his post for a year, after which 'Abdul Samad was replaced by Azam Khan.[5] His brief term of one year was marked by the revolt of *mansabdars* and the occurance of a severe famine. Unable to check disorders or rising prices, 'Azam Khan came to grief; he was dismissed in 1724. The Emperor's choice once again fell on 'Inayatullah Khan for the governorship of Kashmir. He, too, failed to grapple the problems of internal reconstruction.[6] A year later, Muhammad Shah, on the representation of the people, removed him from the office that was given to 'Aqidatmand Khan.[7] Popular discontent, instead of being assuaged, was inflamed by the avarice and oppression of the new governor.

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1. According to the author of *Asrar-i-Samdi*, 'Abdul Samad Khan brought Sharf-ud-Din to Lahore where he settled. p. 35; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*. p. 269; *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 211.
2. He was the son of Muhammad Kazim alias 'Arif Khan, son of Kazi Muhammad Rafi, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 131.
3. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 54a.
4. There was a large number of such persons who solely depended for their subsistance on the imperial treasury. In the days of financial crisis it was not possible for the government to pay off their pensions and keep them satisfied. This official class, angered at the non-payment of salaries, never ceased to agitate; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 269
5. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 122a.
6. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 54b.
7. Muhammad Jaafar 'Aqidat Khan was the son of Amir Khan Mir Miran, governor of Kabul in the reign of Aurangzeb. In the time of Bahadur Shah, 'Aqidat Khan was appointed governor of Patna and afterwards *bakhshi* of Prince 'Azim-ush-Shan. For details: *Ma'asir ul-Umara*, I, pp. 277-287; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 95.

All the latent grievances and resentments came to a head; the people rose in exasperation; and following the traditional mode of agitation, conveyed reports of the governor's misdeeds to the imperial court. The government was scared and replied by appointing Aghar Khan[1] the next governor early in 1727. He soon antagonised the poor and troublesome masses by his policy of loot and lucre which stirred the whole city into a renewed outbreak of disturbances. Their efforts to secure the dismissal of Aghar Khan were disappointed by the manipulation of Zafar Khan,[2] his patron and a powerful minister at the Centre. Frustrated in the achievement of their goal, they, nevertheless, kept the authorities on edge by a series of disorders which were economic in their objective.[3] The general anarchy and lawlessness offered Abul Barkat a chance to retrieve his position and take control of the provincial government. He organised the forces of disruption and led an attack on the royal army. Aghar Khan was defeated and driven out of the province.[4] The victorious rebel established his strength on such a firm base that the new governor, Amir Khan,[5] found no alternative but to acknowledge him as his deputy in Kashmir.[6] However, they could not pull on for long; and Amir Khan, disgusted by the audacity and overbearing manners of Abul Barkat, dismissed him and appointed Ahtiram Khan

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1. His name was Deedah Mughal, son of Imam Quli Aghar Khan who died in 1690. After his father's death, Deedah Mughal received the titles of Aghar Khan, Bahadur and Turk Jang. He was a prominent courtier of Muhammad Shah and died in Delhi at the age of 70 in 1747, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 137; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 257.
2. His name was Khwajah Muzaffar, and was the grandson of Khwajah Nasir, a descendant of the Naqshbandi saints. His father, Khwajah Abdul Qudir, lived as a saint and died in the reign of Farrukh Siyar. Khwajah Muzaffari was first favoured by Azim-ush-Shan who bestowed on him the title of Zafar Khan and the rank of 1,500/500. Farrukh Siyar, after his victory over Jahandar Shah, made him third *bakhshi*, increased his rank to 7,000/7,000 and conferred on the title of Raushan-ud-Daulah. On account of his association Koki Jiu, the foster sister of Muhammad Shah, he became rich and influential. For details: *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. II, pp. 333-336.
3. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 54b.
4. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*. f. 218b.
5. For the early life and career of Umdat-ul-Mulk Amir Khan, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 839-841.
6. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 289.

to be his deputy.[1]

Shortly after his arrival in Kashmir Ahtiram Khan was confronted by a sudden outbreak of insurrection which owed its origin to famine and unemployment. Due to disasterous harvest and hoarding prices of food grains rose fast and work for the artisians became scare. Trade and crafts, which occupied an important position in the economy of Kashmir, declined in these years of turmoil. Province-wide starvation and disappearance of public peace subjected the poor masses to untold hardships. Their unrest found expression in violent agitation, and the local officers were powerless to control the infuriated mobs, and turbulence spread and convulsed large parts of the valley. Abul Barkat Khan again appeared on the scene in a bid to overthrow the government of Ahtiram Khan. Armed gangs of angry and hungary people made demonstrations in the streets and mosques; they raided the stores of food and pillaged the supplies. During the troubles occasioned by food riot Maulana 'Inayatullah alias Fazilat-ullah, the *mir 'adal* and chief of the department of Shari'a, and Maulana Muhammad Ashraf, the grand *mufti*, were brutally killed. The situation took a very ugly turn as panic mounted. In an encounter the governor was defeated by the forces of Abul Barkat. In a state of mortal fright Ahtiram Khan fled away and Abul Barkat Khan was reinstated in the office of deputy-governorship.[2]

In 1736 Amir Khan was succeeded by Dil Diler Khan[3] who retained Abul Barkat as his deputy. Dildar Khan planned on several occasions to visit Kashmir; but his stay in Lahore prolonged and there he expired.[4] The sufferings of the people appeared for the moment to be over and the valley saw a degree of agrarian prosperity and general improvement in law and order situation. Scarcely a year had passed in this condition when matters began to assume a different complexion. Large scale destruction of harvests by floods and earthquakes kindled the embers of revolt which set the whole city in a blaze. Food riots, reminiscent of earlier years, flared up and towns and villages

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1. *Waqa'iat-i-Kashmir*, f. 219b.
2. *Waqa'iat-i-Kashmir*, ff. 219, 220; *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 55a.
3. Khwaja 'Abdullah alias Moin-ud-Daulah Diler Dil Khan Bahadur Nasir Jang was the son of Khwaja Abdul Razzaq Ansari of Panipat. He had the *mansab* of 6,000. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 250; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 95.
4. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 55a.

came under the dangerous grip of lawlessness. Haibat Khan, the Bamba leader, was quick to see the advantage of rising in rebellion against the governor, already overwhelmed by innumerable difficulties. His depredations in the northern districts added to the miseries of the helpless countryfolk. He was, however, repulsed in the compaign by Ja'afar Khan Kanth; the revolt was thoroughly crushed and the credit of the government redeemed. Abul Barkat Khan, an unprincipled opportunist, did not reward Ja'afar Khan Kanth for his heroic service. The general felt extreme chagrin and took up sword against his master.[1]

With the aid of the Gujjars he inflicted a crushing defeat on Abul Barkat Khan and forced him to flee in an utterly broken condition towards Lahore. Having knocked out his adversary through the might of arms, Ja'afar Khan acquired independent position and control over wide areas in the province. Even the next governor, Fakhr-ud-Daulah,[2] appointed in 1737, and his deputy Kazi Khan could not put down the revolt and bring disturbances to an end. For handling the administrative affairs tactlessly Fakhr-ud-Daulah was put aside and 'Ati-ullah Khan[3] was sent to assume the reins of government. Fakhr-ud-Daulah retired to Lahore where he submitted to Nadir Shah.[4] He came back to Kashmir with the authority of the Persian Emperor to govern the province in his name. His attempts to set up foreign rule by causing *khutba* to be read and coins struck in the name of his master were met with staunch resistance by the inhabitants of Srinagar. A thrill of rage shot through the city; and a many-sided opposition arose and gained strength.

1. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 223,
2. He was the brother of Roshn-ud-Daulah Zafar Khan and a *mansabdar* of 6,000/6,000. In 1727 Muhammad Shah appointed him the governor of Bihar where he suppressed the revolts of the refractory *zamindars* and established order and security. On the complains by Khwajah Muqtasim, a brother of Samsam-ud-Dauran, he was called from the province. For details: Muhammad Bakhsh Ashub, *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar wa Jalus-i-Muhammad Shah*, Rotograph of B.M. MS. f. 54a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 293.
3. He was the son of Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri who died in 1726. 'Ata-ullah alias Ati-ullah Khan had the title and *mansab* of his father, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 116.
4. Nadir Shah occupied Lahore after defeating Zakariya Khan, son of 'Abdul Samad Khan, governor of the the Punjab. Mirza Muhammad Mahedi Astrabadi, *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha Nadri*, Bombay, 1875, p. 231.

They took up arms against the intruder and expelled him from the city.[1]

After the battle of Karnal, fought on 24 February 1739 between the Persian and the Indian forces, Abul Barkat Khan managed to ingratiate himself with 'Ati-ullah Khan who had the folly and rashness to raise him to the dignity of the deputy-governorship, destined to pave the way for the tragic downfall of the governor. Abul Barkat came to Srinagar from Lahore and began to administer the province with firmness and wisdom.[2] In the last weak of January 1740 'Ati-ullah himself arrived in Kashmir. He managed the affairs efficiently; provided relief to the poorest classes and kept the cost of living low. His justice and benevolence won him popular acclaim and gave the province a much-needed respite.[3] A few months later, Abul Barkat, by his restless and irascible temper, alienated the governor and openly picked a quarrel with him. No scruples stopped the ambitious deputy-governor to form plots and arouse agitation for establishing his supremacy in Kashmir. Consequently, a bitter civil war ensued in which Abul Barkat sustained successive defeats; a battle was fought near the great mosque of the city, November 1740, and the government forces gained decisive victory. Little discouraged by such reverses, Abul Barkat Khan continued to work desperately for the realization of his objective. A master manipulator with qualities of leadership, he enlisted the support of Gujjars and fought a successful battle on 6 January 1741 near Haft Chunar with the government troops. 'Ati-ullah Khan in a miserable flight effected his escape and took shelter with Raja Mahmud Khan, the Bamba Chief. Abul Barkat took possession of Srinagar and made himself master of the province; his power and authority were recognised by all. On 24 April 1741 'Ati-ullah Khan was treacherously slain when he went to Saipur for effecting a settlement with the victor.[4]

The emperor bestowed the governorship of Kashmir on Asadyar Khan,[5] the *Mir Atash*, who remained at Delhi and retained Abul Barkat

1. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, ff. 223-225.
2. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 225b.
3. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 227b.
4. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 228.
5. Asad Yar Khan, a native of Agra, was introduced to Muhammad Shah in 1739 by Amir Khan. First he became a *mansabdar* of 5,000/- and *darogha* of *harkarahas*. Then he was promoted to the post of *Mir Atash* with the title of Asad-ud-Daulah and the increase of his *mansab* to 6,000/6,000. Har Charan Das, *Char Gulzar-i-Shujai*, British M.MS. pp. 65-66.

his deputy. Abul Barkat brought to submission the turbulent *zamindars* and tribesmen; their leaders, Muhammad Zaman and Muhammad Wali, who were involved in the murder of 'Ati-ullah Khan, were put to death. Four to five hundred rebels also met with the same dire punishment. The Emperor, impressed by his courage and bravery, granted him the title of Bahadur and confirmed him to the post he already held.[1] Not long afterwards, a private fued between Abul Barkat and Bab-rul-Lah Beg[2] broke out into an armed clash. The valley again relapsed into a state of confusion and political uncertainity. Abul Barkat routed the small force of Bab-rul-Lah Beg and stamped out the rebellion, His easy and quick victory filled the deputy-governor with pride and he began to oppress the innocent citizens, particularly the Shi'a community of the city. They were sternly treated and made to pay forced contributions. To avenge their wrongs the indignant people espoused the cause of Bab-rul-Lah and rallied round him in in large numbers for a general insurrection. Muradyab Khan, *peshkar* of the *subah*, matched forth to meet the enemy, and two armies confronted one another near Shadipur. The soldiers of Abul Barkat Khan, because of disunity among them, were worsted and compelled to beat a hasty retreated. In the course of fight the general and thousands of his soldiers were drowned in the river Baihmat. The rebels carried their arms everywhere and the deputy governor was helpless to oppose their progress or prevent their outrages. Thus the rebellion gained stability and disorders increased daily.[3]

When Muhammad Shah received report how seriously the situation in Srinagar was deteriorating, he appointed Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang,[4] a commander of ability and experience, the governor of Kashmir.

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1. *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, f. 229.
2. Bab-rul-Lah Khan Birlas, grand son of Shak-rul-Lah Beg Saif Khani, was the *thanedar* of Kamraj. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 131.
3. For details of these events : *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, ff. 229b. 230a.
4. His original name was Mirza Muhammad Muqim, and he was the son of Sa'adat Khan's eldest sister. After the death of Sa'adat Khan, he was appointed the governor of Oudh in May 1739; and in 1744 he became the *Mir Atash*, replacing Hafiz-ud-Din Khan, a Turani noble and a close companion of Qamruddin Khan. For details of his life and career: A.L. Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, Agra, 1954, pp. 85-102.

He sent his deputy, Sher Jang[1] at the head of a large and strong army to eradicate the license that reigned supreme for long in the province[2] Sher Jang was a consumate and skilful general and had the gift of personal bravery. He reached Srinagar early in February 1745 and encamped in Idgah outside the city. From there he launched offensive against the foes of the crown. The numbers and valour of his soldiers prevailed in the first engagement; the disorderly resistance was shattered and the rebels were reduced to submission.[3] Abul Barkat Khan was arrested and sent in chains to Delhi where he, overwhelmed with shame, died after two months.[4] Bab-rul-Lah, induced by the fallacious assurance of security and freedom, visited the imperial official for talks an amicable settlement: but he was imprisoned and executed.[5] Their stern and unrelenting suppression facilitated the gradual elimination of anarchy. Sher Jang stayed in Kashmir for two months during which he managed its affairs with a strong hand and great was the awe of him. His successor, Afrasiyab Khan,[6] occupied the office for three years, 1745-1748. Again a severe famine caused by inadequate as well as excessive rains, occured, adding new pages of calamity and disintegration to the Kashmir annals. Thousands of Kashmiris died of hunger, and a multitude, terrified by the universal ruin, fled away to the towns and villages of the Punjab and Delhi.[7]

Zahiruddin Malik

1. Misar Muhammad Khan Sher Jang was the son of Siyadat Khan, the elder brother of Sa'adat Khan. He, too, was a candidate for the governorship of Oudh *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, p. 853.
2. *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirin*, p. 853.
3. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, f. 55b.
4. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 131.
5. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, p. 132.
6. Afrasiyab Khan was an Irani noble in the service of Safdar Jang, *Siyar-ut-Muta'-khkhirin*, p. 853.
7. For details of these events: *Waqai'at-i-Kashmir*, ff. 230-231.

IJARA SYSTEM IN EASTERN RAJASTHAN
(C. 1650-1750)

An attempt has been made in this paper to discuss the salient features of the *ijara* system in the territories under the control of the rulers of Jaipur. The study is based on a detailed examination of the various documents preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. The documents consulted are mainly *arhsattas, muwazanas, lakhtangs, sanads*, Rajasthani letters *(bonds)* and miscellaneous persian letters belonging to the administration of the maharaja of Jaipur and *jagirdars* of the maharaja.

Ijara constituted a kind of contract and implied the farming out of the revenues of a *mahal (pargana)* or more than one mahal; or of a *mauza* (village), or a part of it; or more than one *mauza*. Generally, the *ijaradar* was required to pay a fixed amount as stipulated in the *patta* (lease). The *ijaradar* had to give a *qabuliyat* (acceptance) and affirming his duty to pay it. It was expected from him that he would protect the interests of the state as also of the *ryots*. The settlement sometime was made for an amount that was a little less than the expected income from the area farmed out to the *ijaradar*, thus leaving a margin of profit for him. We can visualise that an efficient *ijaradar* could make an overall estimate of the expected revenues from the land under cultivation, before a detailed assessment had been made by the *jagirdar*. His vigilance and personal efforts could increase his collection beyond the estimated *jama*.

It would seem that *ijara* was of several types. Broadly, it may be divided into two categories: *ijara* taken by the rulers, and *ijara* given by the rulers. The former was of two types:

(i) *Ijara* of a whole *pargana*, taken with the sanction of the Mughal government, because the Imperial (Mughal) *jagirdars (mansabdaran-i-badshahi)* or the royal servant were not able to realise their revenues.

(ii) Isolated *mauzas* of the Imperial *khalsa* or farming part of the *jagir* of the Mughal *mansabdars*, falling in areas controlled in the main, by the Jaipur rulers and held by the latter in *ijara*.

It had been suggested by the present author that Jaipur acquired its position as a major state of Rajasthan as a result of the position enjoyed by its rulers in the service of the Mughal emperor.[1] The expansion of the territories of the rulers did not take place essentially as a result of military conquests but mainly due to the transfer, over a period of years, of many *parganas* by the Mughal emperors to the rulers of Amber. These *parganas* were given sometime in *jagir* and sometime in *ijara.*

The leasing of *parganas* in particular represented the main form in which the expansion of the Jaipur state took place. During the process of disintegration of the Mughal Empire, and the decay of the central administration, the kachhwaha rulers strengthened their position. The crisis in the *jagirdari* system was accompanied by the wide-spread practice of the Mughal nobles or *mansabdars* of giving their *jagirs* on farm to the rulers of Jaipur. The practice of revenue-farming began to increase after the death of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah while in the reign of Farrukh Siyyar it had become very widespread. The efforts to take many *parganas* on lease were made by the Amber *darbar* in 1712.[2]

After 1712, the *ijaradars* had great opportunities to obtain a prolongation of the term for which *ijaras* were given. The tradition of short term farms and frequent changes had by now given away. Farms were previously temporary; but after sometime the maharaja of Amber acquired some of the *ijara* land permanently and retained it for life. Jai Singh Sawai had acquired full authority and complete political jurisdiction throughout the whole of the territory under his control. He administered these *parganas* by leases or subordinate *ijaradars.*[3] It is reasonable to say that such subordinate *ijaradars* were on their way to becoming chief, during the period of our study.[4] It appears that the new *ijara* system had this great attraction for the holder, as compared with the assignment, that it gave him some expectation of prolonged possessions. It is remarkable that the list of the *parganas* on *ijara* taken

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1. See my article "*Expansion of the Kacchhwaha Territory in Mughal Times*" published in the Volume of I.H.C. 1965.
2. See "*Expansion of the Kacchhwaha Territory in Mughal Times*"
3. *Arhsattas, pargana* Lalsot and Malarna. Samvat 1787 (1730 A.D.).
4. C.U. Will's report on "*The Land-Tenures and Special Powers of Certain Thikanadars of the Jaipur State.*"

by Jai Singh Sawai shows that he occupied by this means an area much exceeding than he received through *tankhwah jagirs* or assignments.[1]

Efforts were also made to secure *ijaras* of the *mahals* assigned to Mughal *mansabdars* or nobles closer to the maharaja's *watan.* Due to the weak administration during the first-half of the 18th century particularly after 1712, the Mughal *mansabdars* could not realise their revenue from the *mahals* situated in the heart of Jaipur. They were giving their assignment to these Rajput rulers. There is a remarkable letter of 1712 of Pancholi Jagjiwan Das, maharaja's *vakil* at Mughal court, to Jai Singh Sawai informing him that efforts were being made to secure the *patta* of various *parganas* held in *jagir* by the Mughal nobles such as I'tqad Khan, Shuja'at Khan, Hasan Khan Ghigada, Ikhlas Khan, Rai Ghasi Ram, Hidayat Qais Khan, Multafit Khan, Jamal Mohd., Khan-Jahan Bahadur, Badshahzada Aizuddin etc. The *vakil* further suggested to the maharaja that "………Now is the time to take as many *ijaras* as one can. The Badshahi courtier's present policy is to accept whatever terms they can get, lest the rajas come to terms with the emperor; and so they are giving of such *ijaras* indiscriminately……If the *darbar* (maharaja) misses this chance of getting the *ijaras* for the parganas close to his *watan*, there will be no likelihood of getting these *ijaras* later on. When the Emperor has made a settlement (with the raja), it is doubtful if the *jagirdars* will give out any *ijara* then".[2]

The *mutasaddis* (officials) and other influential persons at the court were patronised by the agents of the maharaja so that they might prove helpful in securing *ijaras* from the Imperial nobles.

There had been a great deal of discussion between the *jagirdar* and farmer regarding the terms and conditions of the *patta.* It was seen that during the period under study the farmer somehow or other took the lease

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1. *Parwana* (Persian) of maharaja to his *vakil* at the Mughal court, dated 9th Ramzan, 51 Regnal year (1707, A.D.);
   Also see *Vakil's* report dated, 1712 A.D.
2. Vakil's report (Hindi) dated 1712 (quoted from Will's report" *The Land Tenures and Special Powers of Certain Thikanadars of the Jaipur State*)."
   Note: It appears that it was not in favour of the Mughal nobles to give the *parganas* on *ijara* at the time when the Emperor had already made a settlement with an *ijaradar*. Feeling the security of their *jagirs* they could wait for some more time to give the *parganas* on *ijara* according to their own terms.

on his own terms. For instance, the *jagir* of Saiyid Khan, in *pargana* Toda Bhim *(dar-o-bast)*, was sought in farm by Jai Singh Sawai. The *patta* was prepared and *qabuliyat* was sent but later on the maharaja returned the *patta*, and did not send the *mal-zamini* (surety) to *jagirdar*, arguin that there was scarcity of rain and some of the *mauzas* of the said pargana were already given on *ijara* by the *jagirdar*. Consequently, after a long correspondence and exchange of views, the *pargana* was taken on *ijara* by the maharaja on his own terms.[1]

The maharaja always tried to secure the *ijara* of *pargana* as *dar-o-bast* (entire). It was, however, rare that a *pargana* was given in *dar-o-bast* in *jagir* closer to maharaja's *watan* and this impelled the maharaja to seek to take over the remainder of the *pargana* concerned, on farm. This may be one of the factors that maharajas preferred a *mahal* in *ijara* rather than in *jagir* far away from their *watan*. After 1712, most of the *parganas* they got as *dar-o-bast* in *ijara*.

In each of the *pargana* a few *mauzas* could be a part of royal *khalsa* or assigned to Imperial *mansabdars*.

The pattern may be indicated by a few examples.

(i) *Pargana* Malarna, *sarkar*, Garh Ranthambhore, *suba* Ajmer, 1690, contained total number of *mauzas* as 151 (revenue *dam* 1,00,40,000)

Break up

Name	Number of *mauzas*	*Revenue (in dam)*
jagirdar Anand Singh	1	40,000
paibaqi (Imperial *khalsa*) and Imperial *mansabdars*	108	73,00,000
Maharaja's *jagir*	42	27,00,000[2]

(ii) *Pargana* Lalsot *sarkar* and *suba* Akberabad, 1687, contained total number of *mauzas* as 147 (revenue *dam* 70,42,222)

1. *Arzdasht* (Hindi), dated 1711 A.D. from *diwan* Bhikari Das to maharaja of Amber.
2. *Arhsatta pargana* Lalsot 1690 A.D.

	Break up	
Name	Number of *mauzas*	*Revenue (in dam)*
Imperial *khalsa*	25¾	11,82,747
Imperial *mansabdars*	52¾	27,60,054
Maharaja's jagir (in *khalsa*)	68½	30,99,421[1]

The other type of *ijara* was; that was given by the maharaja of Jaipur to other *jagirdars* who might be subordinate to him or serving under him. This seems to be an important feature of the land revenue administration of the maharaja of Jaipur. The *ijara* was given to those who qualified either by local standing or merely by their capacity to hold their own amidst a turbulent population. Some of these *sub-ijaradar* achieved their position as an autonomous chiefs.[2]

A *mauza* or a part of a *mauza* or a particular tax such as, *ghascharai*, *sadri* (iron), *dastur chowdhri qanungo* or kul *habubat*, could also be sublet by the maharaja for a year or less than a year, or for a single harvest.[3]

An analysis of the *khalsa mauzas* held by the Jaipur maharajas may help us to understand the pattern of *ijara* given to other farmers. The size of *pargana* does not remain constant. The fluctuation in *khalsa* land is also remarkable. Detailed information in the documents like *arhsatta* and *muwazana* is available of the *mauzas* held in maharaja's *khalsa*.

The portion from which income was derived directly by the maharaja was termed as *khalsa; mauza* in *dar-o-bast* means a village held in entirety to a single assignee. But a *mauza* could be held jointly in *sarikat (shirkat)* by as many as five or six or more assignees serving under the maharaja. Maharaja may have a part of land as *khalsa* in *shirkat mauzas* or a share of revenue as *khalsa* even without keeping a portion of land.

The territory held in *khalsa* as well as that given on *ijara* may increase and decrease from year to year and from season to season. The fluctuation in the position of *mauzas* was so rapid that a *mauza* could be

1. *Arhsatta pargana* Lalsot dated Sambat 1744 (1687 A.D.)
2. See C.U. Will's report for a long discussion about the position of *thikanadars* "*The Land Tenures and Special Powers of Certain Thikanadars of the Jaipur State*"
3. *Arhsattas parganas* Chatsu and Malarna, dated, Sambat 1787 (1730 A.D.)

dar-o-bast one year and *shirkat* another year. The *mauza* or a part of it could be in *ijara* for one year and in *khalsa* for another year. A detailed study of *muwazana* documents suggests that the change was so frequent that a *sub-ijaradar* could not be sure that the portion which he had in *ijara* may be extended for a long term.[1]

Generally the maharaja used to give the portion of *khalsa* on *ijara* which he possessed in *shirkat* land for a fixed quit rent preferably to the bigger assignee. A few instances may be quoted:

(i) *Mauza* Mukaliyameda was in the *jagir* of Bhoj Raj Hamirde in 1663 for a sum of Rs.100/- only, which later on was made *khalsa*. The half of the *mauza* (assessment Rs. 50/- only) was given on *ijara* to Ghanshyam Vijai Ram for a sum of Rs. 37.50 only.[2]

(ii) *Mauza* Khejri Bazurg *tan* (nominal assessment) Rs. 5,100/- only[3]

jagirdar's share	Rs. 5,025/- only
(a) Puran Mal *mahajan*	Rs. 3,750/-
(b) Dev Singh Sikarwal	Rs. 1,275/-
khalsa	Rs. 75/- only.

The *mal* of the small *khalsa* share was given on *ijara* for whole year to Puranmal *mahajan (jagirdar)* according to the *qabuliyat* 1729, for a sum of Rs. 50/- only.

Kharif	*Rabi*
Rs. 25/-	Rs. 25/-

(iii) *Mauza* Chimanpura (¾ *mauza* was in *khalsa* and ¼ in *jagir*)[4]

Tan Rs. 4,500/- only

In *jagir* of Shyam Singh Vijai Singh *(kumbhani)* Rs. 1,850/- only.

khalsa Rs. 2,650/- only.

mal of the *khalsa* was given on *ijara* to Shyam Singh Vijai Singh *Kumbhani* according to the *fard* of Diwan Rao Narain Das Kirpa Ram, dated 1730 A.D. According to the *lakhtang*, 1730, *mal-zamini* of *patel* of

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1. *Muwazana, pargana* Dausa and Lalsot.
2. *Arhsatta pargana* Chatsu, dated 1664.
3. *Arhsatta, pargana* Chatsu, Sambat 1787 (A.D. 1730) p. 272.
4. *Ibid*, p. 306

the same village was taken. The *ijara* was for six months, for the sum of Rs. 1,325/- only.

(iv) *Mauza* Kishanpura, *tan* (nominal asssessment) Rs. 800/- only[1]
jagirdar's share Rs. 200/- only

(a) Hirdaya Ram Rs. 100/- only

(b) Khushal Singh Rs. 100/. only

khalsa Rs. 600/- only

The *mal* of the *khalsa* was given on *ijara* to Gheena *mahajan*, resident of Shahpur *pargana* Amber in 1729 A.D. for the sum of Rs. 301/- only.

Mauzas in *dar-o-bast khalsa* were also given on *ijara* but the practice was not common during the period under study.[2]

From these instances (and many others) it would appear, firstly, that the *darbar* preferred to give *khalsa* share on farm to one of the big assignees already holding part of that *pargana;* but if the co-sharers were small, the farm would be given to an outsider. Secondly, the amount for which the farm was given was usually less than the nominal assessment of the area (though there are other instances when the amount of farm was the same as the nominal assessment).

A *mauza* or a part of it was also given on farm to the *patel, mahajan* (who was also a *jagirdar* serving under the *maharaja*) of the *mauza* concerned.[3] *Ijara* in this form was undoubtedly an old practice. The *patels* and *mahajans* were local officials and presumably, were, local *zamindars* and peasants. They were also entitled to some cesses such as *pateli* and *mahajani.*

The period of the *ijara* was not constant. It was ranging generally from six months to one year, as stipulated in the terms of the *patta.* Sometimes it could be given for two to three years but rarely for four and five years or more.[4] In such cases if half of the *mauza* is in *khalsa*

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1. *Arhsatta, pargana* Chatsu, Sambat 1787, (1730. A.D.), p. 238.
2. *Arhsatta, pargana* Chatsu, dated 1730 A.D. pp. 79, 80, 108
3. *Ibid*
4. *Bond* (Hindi), dated 1728 A.D. *Purohit* Arat Ram to maharaja informing about the surety of an *ijaradar* for a period of 5 years Sambat 1784-1788. Also see *Muwazana khurd* regarding the *Ijara* of *pargana* Khohri for a period of ten years.

and half in *jagir*, the *ijara* for a term of six months was always preferred. There were certain instructions for it.[1]

This is an interesting point to note that there are very few references for *ijara istimirar* (permanent) during the period under study. However, after, the second half of the 18th century there are innumberable evidences to indicate that the practice of *ijara istimirar* became common and the *parganas* in *dar-o-bast* were given on farm.[2] It appears, that, after the death of Maharaja Ishwari Singh the Jaipur *darbar* was facing political instability over the areas which were held by Jai Singh Sawai. Moreover, the threat of *deccanni (Marathas)* might also have forced the *darbar* to farm out those areas which could not be protected.

The *ijaradar* was entitled to the difference *(takhfif)* in the amount of the land revenue collected and the annual or seasonal instalments contracted under the terms of the *patta*. Only a convincing argument (such as scarcity of rain or less revenue than assessed) could help him for further concessions in revenue; and his statements sometimes were verified by *chowdhri*, *qanungo*, *patwari* and *qazi*.[3]

The *ijaradars* were invariably required to produce a guarantor who were generally the *patel*, *mahajan* and *sahukar*. The position of *sahukar* (money lender) was emerging during this period. *Sahukar* used to send the *mal zamini* on behalf of an *ijaradar*. These *sahukars* had branches in important *parganas* and towns of Rajasthan and several other parts of the country including Delhi, Agra and Ajmer. These *sahukars* used their own medium of exchange, on pieces of paper, commonly termed *hundis* or bill of exchange. The maharaja could refuse to grant a patta of *ijara* without proper surety. Sometimes he pressed the *ijaradar* to send *mal zamini* from a particular *sahukar* for some reasons. The protection of the *sahukar* was the direct responsiblity of the *jagirdar*. There are references when *mal zamini* of a particular *sahukar* was looted in the jurisdiction of a *jagirdar*. The concerned *jagirdar* was bound to return the money. Sometimes it was returned to *sahukar* from the *maharaja*

1. *Lakhtang* of Daya Ram *mahajan* about *pargana* Malarna, dated 1712 A.D.
2. I owe this information to my friend Mr. Dilbag Singh working on "*Revenue System in Eastern Rajasthan from 1750-1850*".
3. *Arhsattas*, *pargana* Lalsot, Naraina, Malarna etc ; *arz-dasht diwan* Bhikari Das to Maharaja, dated 1711 A.D.
   Also see *muwazana* of various *parganas*.

and later on the *jagirdar* was asked to deposit the same amount in maharaja's treasury.

I have set out in the *appendix* detailed table giving the percentage of the nominal assessment on the area given on farm within the *khalsa* to the nominal assessment of the entire *khalsa* share in the respective *pargana* for the *parganas* of Amber, Chatsu, Bahatri (Baswa), Dausa, Malarna and Lalsot. The period covered is 1665 to 1749. Although in each of the *parganas* there are long gaps in the information at the moment; but in original *arhsattas* complete information may be obtained after deligent scrutiny. Incomplete as the information is strongly suggests an increase in the proportion held under revenue farm, from around the year 1733 and 34. The only exception to this is *pargana* Malarna. The increase in all the other *parganas* is so substantial that one is constrained to pose the question whether the Jaipur *darbar* had begun to face serious financial difficulties from the early 1730 & ownwards. This alone would explain why the *darbar* was giving larger and larger chunks of *khalsa* land over to farmers. Such a policy once adopted might well have been self defeating since farming notoriously harm the prosperity of the cultivator. A decline in revenue paying capacity of *parganas* would however had pursuaded to *darbar* to resort more to farming so to get as it could. A financially harmful cycle might therefore ensue. Unfortunately I have not seen a description of this process in the historical texts, and so far at the present we can only conjecture on the basis of what the *arhsatta* statistics tell us.

APPENDIX

Parganawise percentage of revenue of the raja's khalsa given on ijara

Year	Amber	Chatsu	Bahatri (Baswa)	Lalsot	Dausa	Malarna
1665	—	—	1	—	—	—
1669	—	—	3	—	—	—
1677	2	—	—	—	—	—
1684	—	—	1	—	—	—
1686	—	—	5	—	—	—
1687	—	—	—	15	—	—
1688	4	—	8	—	—	—
1689	3	—	3	—	—	—
1690	17	—	—	—	—	—
1691	—	—	1	—	—	—
1696	—	—	2	—	—	—
1697	—	—	3	—	—	—
1708	—	63	1	—	—	—
1709	—	56	—	—	—	—
1710	—	4	4	—	—	—
1711	—	3	—	—	—	—
1712	1	1	—	1	—	—
1713	—	—	—	22	2	26
1714	—	2	—	—	—	—
1715	—	—	—	—	3	24
1716	4	14	1	—	—	34
1717	—	18	—	1	—	—

Year	Amber	Chatsu	Bahatri (Baswa)	Lalsot	Dausa	Malarna
1718	3	—	1	6	—	—
1719	—	—	—	4	—	40
1720	7	—	9	14	—	—
1721	—	3	—	13	—	—
1722	—	—	—	8	—	—
1723	4	4	2	—	—	22
1724	11	7	3	—	—	—
1725	8	—	1	—	—	—
1726	—	10	—	—	—	—
1728	—	—	—	—	—	7
1729	—	—	—	—	—	3
1730	—	6	—	—	—	—
1731	—	8	—	5	—	—
1732	—	—	—	—	—	19
1733	22	20	—	6	—	—
1734	18	—	—	16	—	—
1735	—	15	—	—	—	—
1736	24	—	—	—	13	9
1737	—	13	—	17	5	13
1738	—	—	—	—	—	22
1739	—	—	—	24	21	—
1740	—	—	—	26	—	—
1741	—	23	—	24	18	—
1742	—	29	—	—	19	—

Year	Amber	Chatsu	Bahatri (Baswa)	Lalsot	Dausa	Malarna
1743	—	—	—	—	18	—
1744	27	25	—	—	29	—
1745	—	30	—	28	12	—
1746	—	—	—	25	18	—
1747	—	—	—	11	—	—
1748	—	50	—	12	—	—
1749	—	50	—	—	—	—

S. P. Gupta

MEANING AND USAGE OF SOME TERMS OF LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

The Department of Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals had two distinguishing features. Unlike that of many other departments, its work was to some extent technical. An employee of the department, apart from the usual paper work, had also to be familiar with such technical details as the different categories of land and their varying yields, the modes of assessment and collection, the time-schedule for the different crops, the price-schedules for calculating the cash rates, etc. The other feature was the strong Indian influence which permeated the lower branches of the department. The great majority of the cultivators was the indigenous population and perhaps because of it the assessment and collection staff was also recruited largely from among them. The cultivators continued the use of the traditional terminology, which gradually entered into the official jargon through the Indian employees. The process had begun long before the establishment of Mughal rule and it increased rapidly with the passage of time. Many words, both of Persian and Indian origin, came to acquire a technical meaning for which the usual dictionaries could not be a helpful guide.

For the early English administrators the problem was even more baffling. Collection of land revenue was the earliest administrative work taken up by them, and it was perhaps the most difficult. Like the Turk and Mughal administrators before them, the English had to associate the Indians in the work in the beginning. Thus, Raja Shitab Rai, a man with vast experience of the settlements of land in Bihar was retained as the *Naib Dīwān* from 1765 to 1772. He also attended the meetings of the controlling Committee of Revenue, Bihar, as a sort of a special invitee, and was often asked to prepare memoranda on such subjects as the history of the *Qanūngo's* office, its powers and functions, etc. Later on, some of the English officers themselves began to compile some accounts of the working of certain revenue officers and the meanings of technical terms, with the help of their Indian *Munshis*. Also, glossaries of technical terms and manuals of administration came to be compiled.

This paper relates to one such glossary of terms of land revenue

administration. It was compiled in 1790 by one, Khwaja Yāsīn, poetically surnamed ʿĀjiz, by the order of James Grant, the famous English expert on land revenue administration. Yāsīn explains the purpose behind the compilation as follows:

'It is not unknown that on account of the wide prevalence of some words of Arabic, Persian, Turki and Indian (origin), which acquired a technical usage among the ʿĀmils ever since the advent of the armies of Islam in Paradise-like India, the attention of the (concerned) persons was not drawn towards an enquiry (in their meaning). Particularly, the meaning of some words of Indian origin, which are frequently used by the employees of the revenue department, are not understood by many *Munshis* because it is obscure to those who have not worked under the ʿĀmils. Furthermore, the usage of each country (region) is different and even the (professional) translators often face difficulties in translating the petitions of *Zamindārs*, *ʿĀmils*, *Faujdārs*, etc. Therefore, I (here follow the usual expressions of humility) Khwaja Yāsīn, poetically surnamed ʿĀjiz, according to the orders of (here follow some grandiloquent titles) James Grant have collected many Arabic, Persian, Turki and Indian words of (current in) Delhi, Calcutta, Dacca and Patna and translated their meaning and also explained their other usages which may be of use to *Munshis* and the employees (of the revenue department). Since earlier accountants have compiled *Dastūru'l ʿAmals* on accountancy, I considered it useless to dwell on the principles of accountancy.'

The work has been noticed by some of the writers on the subject[1] and referred to on some occasions but it has not been examined in detail yet. Apart from its copy in the British Museum, no other copy is available in India to my knowledge.[2]

The terms selected by the compiler (the selection itself is neither exhaustive nor very systematic) have been arranged alphabetically. These have been listed in the same order in the Table of Contents, but in a few cases the terms listed in the Contents do not occur in the text. Also,

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1. P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Allahabad, 1941, Bibliography; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 1963, p. 424. The British Museum copy examined by Dr. Habib is undated but this is dated 1790.
2. The ms. was discovered by me in a village in Purnea district in 1963, and a photostat copy was obtained for the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. I am thankful to Prof. Askari, Hony. Joint Director of the Institute, for permitting me to consult the copy.

there are some obvious mistakes in the text which, perhaps, represents a tentative draft.

I have selected a few terms relating to (i) local officers, (ii) local units of administration, (iii) units of measurement, (iv) perquisites, etc. and translated the relevant portion. Owing to limitation of space I have not commented on or compared the meanings given by the compiler with those available in other standard works—a task which I propose to take up separately. But even without any comment, it will be obvious that important changes had occurred in the meanings of several terms and, what is more important, in the nature of the work of such well-known officers as *Shiqdār* and *Shahna*. They seem to have been reduced to a lowly status. The *Qanūngo's* office, it will be noticed, was no more inalienable; it could be sold. The specification of the difference between a *chakla* and a *sarkār*, the method of fixing the length of the measuring unit of bamboo, the different designations of employees doing the same kind of work in the different parts of the country—all these, it is hoped, will be found to be of some use and interest.

I. Local Officers, Amīn: folio 39b-40b, In the usage of the *ʿĀmils* the word *Amīn* means a trustee, one who keeps as well as hands over a trust. It is the opposite of embezzler. A person fit for the post of an *Amīn* is he who neither steals himself nor lets others do so.... There are *Amīns* in all types of *Kārkhānas.* There are different categories of *Amins;* (i) *Amīn:* who is in the service of the king (and) who is deputed to any place where a dispute occurs, (ii) *Amīn* who is posted by the king in the provinces, who protects the king's treasures and reports to the king if there is any slackness in the work and behaviour of the governors of the provinces and yearly maintains all the important records, (iii) *Amīn* is a person who is deputed by the provincial government for enquiring into the disputes in the interiors and who reports to the government after making the necessary enquiries, (iv) *Amīn* who is appointed in the *parganas* and he is the servant (subordinate) of the *ʿĀmil* and (who) in the case of a dispute between the cultivator and the *zamindār* visits the field and in the presence of some persons (witnesses) gets the field measured by *bāns* and *katha* which *(bāns)* is equal to five 'hands' of the *Qāẓī*, or by *jarīb* the length of which is equal to *a bīgha* (?) and after measuring the area and estimating the produce, according to rules, he prepares the records. He makes no illegal concessions in the work of measurement.

Qanungo: folio 95b-96a, expounder of the law and of the rules for collection of revenue. It is an important post in the *mauẓaʿs*, *parganas*

and *ṣūbahs*. *Qanūngo* is a person who is familiar with the state of affairs in (his) *mauẓa*ᶜs and *parganas*, their assessments and revenues and keeps in his possession the papers relating to the assessment and revenue of (his) *mauẓa*'s and *parganas* for the last hundred years or more. In matters of collection of revenue he is the representative and the upholder of the Law. If there is any unreliable rent-payer in his area he stands security for him. The post of *Qanūngo* is conferred upon by a royal *sanad;* its perquisite is a *nānkār* which he receives from the king(which is the custom) ever since the rise of the Sun of Islam. Formerly, the post could not be sold, now it is sold. The *Qanūngo* (of *mauẓa*ᶜ) sends the detailed papers to the *Ṣadr Qanūngo* who sends it on to the king.

Shiqdār: folio 89, *Shiqdār* is a person who is appointed as a deputy by someone who purchases a house or holds a lease. The duty of a *Shiqdār* is to be present in the court and to bring in the court the complainant and the defendant in all cases that might occur in the *parganas* and to bring before the authorities all such *ryots* and *zamindārs* who might be slack in paying the revenues.

Shahna: folio 89a-89b, It is an Arabic word and *Kotwāl* is perhaps its Hindi equivalent. He is deputed in the *pargana* as a guard to keep an eye on the cultivated fields. The word is prevalent in Hindustan; in Bengal he is called *dehdār* and in Bihar *balarkha*. But there is a difference between a *balarkha*, *dehdār*,*shahna* and *aheth* (?) i. e. all the three persons (except *Shahna*) remain in the village at the time of harvesting, while the *Shahna* lives there permanently. The *aheth* (?) is like the *balarkha* and *dehdār* but it is the usage of Delhi.

Sazāwal: folio 83b-84, (He) is a person deputed by the government for collecting revenue. In Turki it is called *Yasāwal*. In Bengal the *Sazāwal* gets remuneration @ 2% as his fee.

Zamindār[1] *:* folio 81a-81b, (He is) the holder of land. Since the rise of the Sun of Islam in India, which was a land of infidels till then, they are known as *zamindārs*, while some are known as *khurdārs* (?). A big *zamindār* is called a *raja*, and he who acquires land by purchase or usurpation is called a *Ta*ᶜ*lluqdār*. The *zamindār* gets a *Nānkār* by virtue of a royal *sanad*. A *zamindār* can sell his *zamindārī* if he likes, otherwise no officer or government can seize his *zamindārī* without any fault. The rights of the *zamindār* are *mālikāna*, *nānkār*, *sīr*, *chauth*, etc. Each of these rights will be described in its proper place.

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1. See Habib, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff.

II. Local Units of Administration, Sarkār[1] *:* folio 82b, (It is a) well-known word in the sense of the seat of the chief where much transaction of money takes place. In the technical sense a *sarkār* is that to which *parganas, ta'lluqas, tappas,* and *chaklas* are attached. Its area is such that more than 20 but less than 50 or 60 *parganas* are included in it. If there are less than 20 *parganas* in it, it is known, according to the old rules, as a *chakla*, not a *sarkār*. In case there are more (than 20) *parganas*, whatever the excess(?), it is called a *sarkār*. Even if a *chakla* happens to be bigger than a *sarkār (vide infra)* the latter is not used as a prefix (مضاف) to the former, it is always used as a suffix(مضاف الیه) to the *chakla* i. e. *chakla* should be regarded as that which is attached to the *sarkar*. Accordingly, it is written as *'amla* so and so, *pargana* so and so, *chakla* so and so and *sarkār* so and so.

Chakla: folio 68, If upto 21 *parganas* are included in an area (?) it is called a *chakla*, if there are more *parganas* it is called *sarkār*. *Mutaṣaddīs* have been appointed in the *chaklas* for convenience of collection. If there is a *pargana* bigger than the others, the nearby *parganas* are attached to it and it becomes a *chakla*. Due to such amalgamation of *parganas*, a *chakla* is often bigger than a *sarkār* (the text does not seem to be quite intelligible here).

Pargana: folio 54a, The *mālguzārī* (collection of revenue) of several *mauẓa's, aṣlī* and *dākhlī, purwas, tappas* and *ta'lluqas* is under a *pargana*; it is named after one of the bigger villages from among its villages, and that village is called a *purwa*.

Purwa: folio 55, (It) means a small *mauẓ'a* which is also known as *dākhlī mauẓ'a* in Persian. Its revenue is included in that of the *aṣlī mauẓ'a* ... If there is a big area in the village and the local people cannot look after its cultivated area they set up two or four houses in it for its guarding, and that is known as *purwa*.

III. Units of Measurement, Bāns: folio 52b, the bamboo for measuring *naqdī* lands is of the length of five 'hands' (of the *Qāẓī*), that for measuring *bhāoli* lands is of six 'hands', so that there is a difference of one 'hand' (in the measuring units of) *naqdī* and *bhāoli*.

Bantchi (?) : folio 52, It is like this; the previous accountants have fixed the length of the bamboo for measurement as equal to five 'hands' of the *Qāẓī*, butthe five 'hands' are determined as follows, the first hand, from the elbow to the little finger, the

1. See Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.

second 'hand' from the elbow to the ring finger, the third 'hand' from the elbow to the middle finger, the fourth 'hand' from the elbow to the fourth finger and the fifth from the elbow to the top of the thumb. But the practice of each country (region) varies, somewhere it is five, somewhere six and somewhere seven ('hands').

Bīgha: folio, 59, It is a Hindi word. An area of 20 bamboo-square is called a *bīgha.* One bamboo is equal to 3 *Ilāhī* yards[1] and the accountants have fixed the finger as equal to 3 grains of barley; 40 fingers are equal to 1 yard.

IV. Perquisites, Nānkār, folio 113, It is mixed word of Hindi and Persian, its literal meaning is the bread one gets in return for work. Technically, it means the grain (?) or land which one gets from the kind for performing certain work. It is not granted without a *sanad.* When the government converts a *zamīndār's* land into *sīr* it cannot occupy the *nānkār* land and that is called as *jhikagahmar* (?)

Mālikāna: folio, 112b-113a, (It) is the right of the *zamindār* (When) his *(zamindār's)* land is converted into *sīr* (an area in which the assessment and collection is done directly by the government)[2] they give him something because he is the owner of the land. The rate of it *(mālikāna)* is according to the custom of the different areas—either on percentage or per *bīgha* or per 100 maunds of grains basis.

Qunalgha: folio 95, (It) means a present which the *zamindārs* offer at the time of meeting *ḥākim.* According to some it means an earthen pot full of (one word[3] here could not be deciphered)...which the *zamindārs* present to the *ḥākim.*

V. Apportionment of Share, Agwan, folio 42, Before the distribution of grains something is set apart for charity. In Lahore it is called *sahāwrī.*

Ankhakura: folio 42a, After the corn has been collected it is divided into two parts, (then) the names of the owner and the *ryot* are written on two pieces of papers which are given to another person and he drops the slips on the two heaps. It is a sort of a lottery (?) and each one takes accordingly.

1. See Irfan Habib, op. cit., Appendix A.
2. Cf. Habib, op. cit., p. 246.
3. Habib, op. cit., p. 247, note, translates it as yogurt.

Baṭāī: folio 57, It is a Hindi word, its Persian equivalent is division. It is of different types, (i) *bilmunāṣifa*, which is known in Hindi as *adhiyā*—according to it the owner gets half (of the produce) and the *ryot* gets the other half, (ii) *pachdo* (Persian, *panj*, Hindi *pachdo*) according to it the owner gets three and the *ryot* two shares, or whatever else (rate) is settled, (iii) *nausatta*, is a Hindi word which means nine and seven; the owner takes nine and the *ryot* seven shares (of the produce).

VI. Miscellaneous, Dastūru'l ʿAmals and *ʿAmal Dastūrs*, folio 76, *Dastūru'l ʿAmal* means old regulations which were fixed by the previous *ʿĀmils*. *ʿAmal Dastūr* means recently made regulations.

Jiziya: folio 67, (It) it a word which means a tax. Actually, *jiziya* which was levied in India in the earlier times, prevailed till the reign of Aurangzeb. *Jiziya* was levied, without distinction, on the *zamindārs*[1] (sic) at the following annual rates,[2] per head: Palanquin owning Hindu, Rs. 10, a rider, Rs. 5 and a footman Rs. 8. Each one was given a receipt bearing the king's or the *Qāzī's* seal; any Hindu found without the receipt was a culprit in the eyes of the government (But) nowadays the Hindus have become so predominant that they may soon levy *jiziya* on the Muslims!

Qeyamuddin Ahmad

1. This is perhaps a copyist's mistake for on subsequent occasions the general word, Hindus, has been used.
2. Habib, op cit , pp. 245-46 mentions certain other rates on the basis of a manual compiled in the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign

THE AWADH TREATY OF 1837

Muhammad Ali Shah, in accordance with the undertaking he had given to the Resident on the eve of his accession that he would "agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate"[1] did so on the 11th of September, 1837. This was the last engagement entered into between the King of Awadh and the Company. It is a landmark in the history of Anglo-Awadh relations and curiously enough is one of the most dubious transactions open to adverse criticism by the supporters of the Awadh case and their antagonists.

The salient features of the Treaty[2] were, firstly, that a new auxiliary force should be maintained by the king of Awadh for the general support of his authority. To ensure good discipline it was to be officered by Englishmen and its cost was to be met by the sovereign of Awadh who would pay a sum not exceeding 16 lakhs of rupees per annum for its maintenance. The force could not be employed in the ordinary collection of revenue and could be used only on occasions when the king of Awadh with the concurrence of the Resident deemed it necessary. Secondly, in case any part of Awadh was misgoverned and its administration was considered defective by the British it would be segregated and placed in the hands of officers appointed by the British for a period during which the accounts were to be submitted to the king of Awadh by these officers and the surplus receipts credited in the Awadh treasury. After the lapse of the period or after effecting improvements in the administration of the territory so assumed, it was to be restored to the king of Awadh and as far as possible the indigenous institutions of Awadh would not be changed during the period the territory remained under British management.

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1. *Papers Relating to the Government of Oude*, ordered to be printed on August 2, 1838. Translation of a Deed of Engagement executed by Nawaub Nusseer-ood-Dowlah, on the night of 7th July, 1837, No. 3, p. 5; Kamal Uddin: *Sawanehat-i-Salatin-i-Awadh*, Vol. I, p. 340; M.M. Musseehood-deen Khan: *Oude: Its Princes and Its Government Vindicated*, p. 73.
2. For the Text of the Treaty of 1837 see *Papers Relating to the King of Oude*, printed on 15th March, 1858.

ABROGATION OF THE TREATY

The treaty was proposed by the then Governor-General, Lord Auckland, and was signed reluctantly[1] by Muhammad Ali Shah but it was not approved of by the Court of Directors.[2]. The main objection against the treaty was that the Directors were unwilling to saddle the new King with fresh subsidies. They despised the idea of squeezing money from the King for the maintenance of fresh troops, because they thought that the new King was a man of character and there was every hope that in case he was not shackled with financial embarrassments, he would improve the administration. Lord Auckland was, therefore, informed by the Court of Directors to communicate to the King "in his own way" of the annulment of the treaty.[3] Of course, the Directors in order to maintain the prestige of the Governor-General wanted this annulment to appear as an "act of grace" by the Government of India and not as the dictate of a superior authority in England.[4]

Masihuddin Khan in his work[5] gives a queer story about the trick played by the Government of India in communicating these orders. He observes 'that the Home Government disapproved of that part of the Treaty which imposed on the Awadh State the expense of the auxiliary force, and on the 8th of July, 1839, the King was informed by a letter, that he was relieved from the cost of maintaining the auxiliary force, which the British Government had taken upon itself'.[6] The letter said, "......that lately much discussion has been carried on between the Court of Directors of exalted dignity and myself, by means of a written correspondence touching the recent treaty of the 11th of September, 1837. Now, taking into consideration that the expense entailed by the auxiliary force, viz., sixteen lakhs (£ 160,000 sterling) per annum, might be

1. *Papers Relating to the King of Oude*, p. 13. Letter from the Resident to W.H. Macnaughten, Secretary, dated July 28, 1837, in which he says that the Treaty was 'of a nature that would be very grating to the feelings of a native sovereign of respectable character, and which must be peculiarly painful to the mind of the present King'; Najmul Ghani Khan : *Tarikh-i-Awadh*, Vol. V, p. 6.
2. *Ibid.* Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, pp. 37-38; Najmul Ghani Khan, *op. cit.*, p 7.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 37-38.
4. *Ibid*, p. 38
5. *Oude: Its Princes and Its Government Vindicated; British Aggression in Avadh* edited by the author.
6. M.M. Musseehood-deen Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

the cause of interrupting the administration and amelioration of your kingdom, the said expense became the subject of their grave delibrations. From the period you ascended the throne, your Majesty has, in comparison with times past, *greatly improved the kingdom*, and I have, in consequence, been authorized by the Court of Directors to inform you, that "If I think it advisable for the present I may"[1] relieve your Majesty from part of the clause of the treaty alluded to, by which clause expense is laid upon your Majesty."[2]

In consequence of the above interpolation, the king returned the letter.

The object of the trick played was simply to impress upon the ruler of Awadh that the Governor-General was in possession of full powers to ratify or abrogate treaties made with him while the fact was that the final authority to do so lay only in the hands of the authorities in England.

Upon the receipt of the returned letter, the Governor-General in Council issued an order directing, "that the old custom of sending the original English letter as well as the Persian translation of it, to His Majesty, a custom which had been in use since the time of Lord Bentinck, should be discontinued, and that the Persian version alone should be forwarded to His Majesty, as well as to all other Indian princes."[3]

VARIOUS OPINIONS ON THE SUBSISTENCE OF THE TREATY

Bird in his book '*Dacoitee In Excelsis; Or, The Spoliation of Oude*' held the view that the Treaty was in force in so far as (i) the "*Parliamentary Return of Treaties*" published by an order of the House of Lords contained the Treaty of 1837; (ii) only certain provisions of the treaty namely the imposition of an auxiliary force and the enhancement of the subsidy were annulled; and (iii) it was well known to all that the treaty of 1837 was ratified and binding on the contracting parties.

In support of his view, he quotes the opinion of an expert[4] who says after a careful perusal of the existing documents on the treaty of

1. The words within inverted commas bear a different sense in the English copy, in which they run thus "I am directed to relieve you", etc.
2. R. W. Bird: *Dacoitee in Excelsis, Or, The Spoliation of Oude*, pp. 72-73.
3. M.M. Musseehood-deen Khan: *op. cit.*, pp. 75-77; *British Aggression In Avadh*, p. 77.
4. Dr. Travers Twiss whom Musseehood-deen Khan and Bird both name as an expert. See Museehood-deen Khan: *op. cit.*, pp. 143-153.

1837 that "the treaty of 1837 is a subsisting treaty, and is binding on the respective parties to it."[1]

There is no doubt that the translation in Persian sent to the King was dishonest and faulty. A modern English writer sums it up as a "banditry hallowed by fifty years of bad relations between the British and Oudh."[2] Lord Auckland, according to Masihuddin Khan, played petty tricks of suppressing and garbling documents and exhibited an absence of moral courage obviously inexcusable for the head of a suzerain power. Masihuddin Khan and Bird were both interested persons, their object being clearly to support the view in favour of the deposed King of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah.[3] Hence we have to look to the statements of the opposite group as well. In his Minute dated June 18, 1855, Lord Dalhousie categorically denies the subsistence of the treaty of 1837. He says, that 'the treaty is null and void. It was wholly disallowed by the Court of Directors who therefore restored our relations with the State of Awadh to the footing on which they previously stood.'[4] He added that 'It is the more embarrassing that the cancelled instrument was still included in a volume of treaties which was published in 1845 by the authority of the Government'.[5]

On the contrary, Lord Hardinge, the predecessor in office of Lord Dalhousie, in his letter dated November 23, 1847, addressing the King of Awadh, based his remonstrance on the subsistence of the treaty of 1837. He wrote, "This treaty of 1837 is in confirmation of the treaty of 1801 for it gives power to the British Government to interfere when it is necessary for the proper government of the kingdom,"[6] which clearly shows that Lord Hardinge in 1847 was sure that the treaty was in tact and therefore he argued "by article 7 of the treaty of 1837, that the British Government, if necessary, should take into its hands the adminis-

1. M. M. Musseehood-deen Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
2. Michael Edwardes: *The Orchid House; Splendours and Miseries of the Kingdom of Oudh*, 1827-1857, p. 115.
3. Both the persons went to England for pleading the Awadh case before the British Parliament. Major Bird later accepted Wajid Ali Shah's service and wrote this book on his request. Kamal Uddin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 179-180, 384-389.
4. *Papers Relating to the King of Oude*. Minute by the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, p. 66; R.W. Bird, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 196.
5. R.W. Bird, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 198; *Papers Relating to the King of Oude*, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
6. *Papers Relating to the Government of Oude*, *op. cit.*, Letter of Lord Hardinge dated November,23, 1847, addressed to the king of Oude, pp. 61-65.

tration of the Oude territory."[1]

Further Colonel Sleeman writing his report as the Resident of Awadh in 1851 also held that the treaty was in tact. He advocated that the English government had the right to exercise "the powers which the treaty of 1837 confer upon it, of taking upon itself the administration and conducting it by means of its own officers."[2]

Sir Henry Lawrence in his article entitled 'The Kingdom of Oude' first published in 1845 writes, "The new king (Muhammad Ali Shah) had soon a new treaty (of 1837) laid before him .... No one can deny that we are authorised by the treaty to assume the management of the distracted portions of the kingdom."[3]

In face of such conflicting opinions of responsible persons it is difficult to decide finally if the treaty of 1837 was a living political transaction or a mere dead letter. To ascertain the historical truth we should examine different stages through which the treaty of 1837 had to pass before it was abrogated.

About two months (11th September, 1837) after the accession of Muhammad Ali Shah, (8th July, 1837) the treaty was formally handed over to him by the Resident. After his signature and approval it was sent to the Governor-General who forwarded it to the Home Government for final ratification.[4] The Board of Directors referred it to its Secret Committee which decided that "the King of Oude should be exonerated from the obligations of the treaty...to which his assent was most reluctantly given."[5]

The members of the Secret Committee felt that the policy followed by the Governor-General was not advantageous, and suggested, on the other hand, that Indian dynasties should at all cost be preserved and in

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1. *Papers Relating to the Government of Oude, op. cit.*, Letter of Lord Hardinge dated November 23, 1847, addressed to the King of Oude, p. 62.
2. W.H. Sleeman: *A Journey Through the Kingdom of Oude, In 1849-50*, Vol. II, pp. 197-211.
3. *Calcutta Review*, 1845, Vol. III, pp. 419-420.
4. *Papers Relating to the King of Oude, op. cit.*, p. 66: 'The treaty was signed at Lucknow on the 11th September, and was ratified by the Governor-General in Council on 18th September, 1837'. Minute of the Governor-General dated 14th August, 1854.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 37: Letter of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India dated 10th April, 1838.

extreme cases in which it might not be possible to act upon this policy such a system of administration as might least interfere with the indigenous institutions be introduced.[1]

But Lord Auckland protested against the Secret Committee's decision and strongly urged that the policy enunciated by them would endanger the peace and security of the British Empire and of the Indian states. He wrote saying that 'the prevalence of views so different from his own among the highest authorities in England gave him "the deepest pain" and concer. s they were against the good interest of the British Government and the Native States whose peace and tranquillity was only his personal responsiblity.'[2]

But the Secret Committee still adhered to its opinion and desired him to abide by the instructions sent to him.[3] Even then Lord Auckland was adamant, more than 12 months passed but the matter was still hanging fire.[4] The Governor-General made another move. He persuaded the President in Council,[5] Fort William, Calcutta, to write to the Secret Committee in his support and himself simultaneously addressed another forceful letter to the Secret Committee.[6]

But the Secret Committee's opinion still remained unchanged and they again communicated this to the Governor-General more emphati-

1. *Papers Relating to the King of Oude*, p. 38: Letter of the Secret Committee to the Governor-General dated 10th April, 1838: 'Our policy, therefore, should be to preserve, as long as may be practicable, the existing native dynasties, should the fall of them, or any of them, from circumstances beyond your control, become inevitable, then to introduce such a system of government as may interfere in the least possible way with the institutions of the people, and with the employment of natives of rank, under proper superintendence, in the administration of the country.'
2. *Ibid.*, p. 39. Minute by the Governor-General to the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors dated Simla July 2, 1838.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 39. Extract Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India in Council dated 5th November, 1838.
4. Treaty ratified on 11th September, 1837. See Aitchison: *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. II, p. 140; *Papers Relating to the Government of Oude*. Extract Secret Committee to the Governor-General dated 5th November, 1838, p. 39.
5. *Papers Relating to the Government of Oude*, Letter of the President in Council to the Secret Committee dated 9th February, 1839, No. 3, p. 43.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-52, Minute by the Governor-General dated Umritsar December 13, 1838.

cally:

"... We are decidedly of opinion that no delay should take place in announcing, in such manner as the Governor-General may think fit, to the King of Oude the disallowance of the treaty of 11th September, 1837, and the restoration of our relations with the State of Oude to the footing on which they previously stood."[1]

The correspondence took a little less than two years but the Governor-General never intimated the abrogation of the treaty to the King of Awadh. He delayed the process by addressing a very strong letter to the Secret Committee in which he pointed out that the civil disorders and military turbulence against which the treaty of 1837 was meant certainly demanded the most serious attention and that the military force was indispensably required for the safety and existence of the British empire in India. He regretted that a measure so well timed and beneficial for the British government and the Awadh state which promised to place the Anglo-Awadh relations on a stable and practicable footing had been "unequivocally condemned and rejected in England" without permitting the Government in India to give one explanatory representation and reiterated his unaltered adherence to the principles of the treaty of 1837.[2]

To this the Secret Committee replied that they still adhered to their former decision regarding the abrogation of the treaty of 1837 and further directed the Governor-General to carry out their instructions at once.[3]

Thus no option was left to the Governor-General for not communicating the abrogation of the treaty of 1837 to the King of Awadh. Therefore, at last, he had to carry out the orders of the Home Government, though reluctantly.

Lord Auckland's repugnance to the abrogation of the treaty was due mainly to a prick of his pride[4] to see that his proposals for instituting an

1. *Papers Relating to the Government of Oude*, p. 57. Extract Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General dated 15th April, 1839, No. 44.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. Minute by the Governor-General (Secret Department) to the Secret Committee of Honourable Court of Directors dated Simla May 2, 1839.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 59. Extract Secret Committee to the Governor-General of India in Council dated July 11, 1839.
4. One reason was that Colonel Low, Resident at Lucknow in 1837, himself through

auxiliary force and augmenting the subsidy were disliked by the Home authorities. Colonel Low had pointed out to the Governor-General that such stipulations "would be very grating to the feelings of a native sovereign of a respectable character" like Muhammad Ali Shah,[1] still the Governor-General adhered to his own views. The communication of its annulment to the king and the Resident was, therefore, so painful for him that he could not face the fact outright and kept both of them uninformed.

The main difficulty was that one part of the treaty implied the maintenance of a force to be officered by British personnel for which the Awadh government had to pay. The matter could not be kept pending for long. There was no option with the Governor-General but to disclose the annulment of the treaty. Hence he was forced by circumstances to disclose the fact. Still he did so in a queer fashion. After a lapse of about two years he was constrained to communicate to the King, "I have been empowered in consequence to relieve the State of Oude from all that is onerous in the conditions respecting that force, and to defray the expense of the portion of it already organised from the British treasury.[2]

Thus a compromise between his personal pride and the compliance of the unconditional orders of the Home Government, was effected. This was how he acted up literally to the instructions given by the Secret Committee that the orders from England "should rather proceed as an act of grace from your Lordship in Council,"[3] and not an imposition from a higher authority. But he wilfully neglected his real duty and played false with the King of Awadh who was shamefully duped and treacherously kept in the dark about the whole affair. He never communicated to the King the annulment of the entire treaty as directed by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. The other part of the treaty that "Clause No. 7 of the treaty of 1837 is the amendment or

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(Footnote contd. from page 288)

whom the transaction had been carried out, was opposed to some articles of the treaty; *Papers Relating to the Government of Oude*, pp. 16-21. Letter from the Resident, Col. Low, to the Secretary W. H. Macnaughten dated 30th July, 1837

1. *Ibid.*, p. 13. Letter from the Resident to the Secretary to the Government of India.
2. *Ibid.*, Letter from the Governor-General to His Majesty the King of Oude dated Simla July 8, 1839, p. 60.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 38. Letter of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India dated 10th April, 1838.

modification of Clause 6 of the treaty of 1801 implying that the restoration of our relations with the State of Oude should remain as usual to the footing on which they previously stood" was never communicated by the Governor-General to the King.[1]

BASE FOR FINAL ANNEXATION OF AWADH

Happily we have on record the unequivocal and straightforward statement of Colonel Low, the then Resident at Lucknow, who was, in 1854, in Governor-General's Secretariat when this dishonest transaction had germinated into an insoluble difficulty and a great political dilemma presented itself to Lord Dalhousie who was reviewing the Anglo-Awadh relations on the eve of the annexation of Awadh. Colonel Low in his minute dated 22nd August, 1854 revealed:

"The Officiating Resident's despatch to Government, dated the 24th of July 1839, reports that a khureeta, dated the 8th of that month, from the Governor-General, was duly delivered to the king of Oude, informing his majesty that he was permanently relieved from the expenses connected with the auxiliary troops, but he was not informed that any other alteration had been made in the provisions of the treaty of 1837; and no official intimation to that effect has ever been made up to this day, to any one at Lucknow, European or native."[2]

In spite of the annulment of the treaty and the concealment of facts from the king of Awadh the text of the treaty was twice published; once in 1845 in the "compilation" printed by the Government of India and again in the form of a "Return to an order of the House of Lords, dated 16th June, 1852". This means that the non-ratification of the treaty was publicly declared[3] although it was concealed from authorities at Lucknow. But Lord Auckland's trick or political dexterity could not be confined to oblivion and in 1856 Lord Dalhousie once again raised the ghost of the dead treaty to life and made it a basis for the final annexation of Awadh.

Safi Ahmad

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1. *Papers Relating to the King of Oude,* Minute by the Honourable Major General Low dated 22nd August, 1854, p. 67.
2. *Ibid.,* Minute by the Honourable Major General Low dated 22nd August, 1854, p. 67.
3. *Ibid.,* Governor-General's Minute dated 13th December, 1838: "I find the view taken by the court to be publicly declared. I find pledges upon the non ratification of the treaty given to Parliament.", p. 51.

ARZDASHT OF BADR HAJIB

The problem of North Indian frontier has been one of the most baffling questions of the Sultanate period. Since the time of the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, the North-Western frontier was exposed to the danger of foreign attack. Upto the reign of Sultan Razia, a sort of peaceful status quo was maintained but after her deposition and her eventual assassination conditions changed.[1] The Mughals, who until now had abstained from attacking the Indian territories, changed their policy of non-agression, as far as the Delhi Sultanate was concerned and opened hostilities with the infant kigdom of India.[2] From now onwards the province of Sindh turned into a battleground as it was the first line of defence of the Indians.[3] Balban was the first Sultan who realised the magnitude of the problem and directed his resources towards the protection of his frontiers.[4] But when Allauddin Khalji came to power he initiated a new policy of defence.[5]

Contemporary and near-contemporary historians have both written on this problem. Modern writers, basing their study on these sources, have brought out extensive and valuable works on this topic. But an important historical document of a contemporary who was an eyewitness to most of the events of the period has escaped the notice of almost all of them. Even those who did notice it could not utilise it at all. The document is included in Amir Khusrau's extensive work, 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi' and is entitled as '*Arzdasht of Badr Hajib*'.[6]

Historically it is a document of much significance as it has been written by a person who was an actual participant in one of the events directly connected with North-Western frontier problem. Its author is

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1. *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Habibullah pp. 210-212.
2. *Foundation of Muslim Rule* p. 212.
3. *Ibid* p. 219.
4. *Ibid* p. 214 : *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century*. Prof. K.A. Nizami p. 333.
5. *History of the Khaljis by* K.S. Lal p. 177.
6. *Ijaz-i- Khusravi* Vol. IV pp. 144-156.

Badr Hajib most probably an official in the Turkish Administration.[1] It is addressed to Prince Khizr Khan, the crown-prince of the Sultanate.

As far the date of the despatch is concerned, no clear evidence is available in it. But it is possible to mark out a probable duration in which the despatch would have been sent. We know that the tide of the Mughal menace was receding after 1306 A.D. with the defeat of Kapak and was at its lowest ebb in 1307 A.D.[2] From this time onwards the armies of Delhi begin to take an offensive and to lead attack on Mughal frontiers. One of such attacks forms the subject matter of the document. We also know that Khizr Khan to whom the despatch is addressed fell into disfavour of the king due to the machanition of Malik Kafur, in the year 1314. The date of the document can, therefore, be fixed between these two dates that is 1307 and 1314.

The despatch of Badr Hajib deals with an expedition against the Mughals across the North-Western frontier of India. It mentions that an expedition was sent to Ghazni, under the command of one called as 'Khan-i-Azam', in which Badr-Hajib and a certain Bahram Elchi were also included. The identity of the actual person called here as Khan-i-Azam is not evident. However, the royal army after experiencing many hardships on the jonrney, reached the city of Ghazni.[4] The Mughals as well as the Muslims of Ghazni expressed their loyalty to the throne of Delhi, whereupon they were granted general amnesty.[5] On Friday, the Khutba in the name of the monarch of the Delhi Sultanate was recited from the pulpit of the mosque.[6] In the end the despatch refers to the feuds among the Mughals, their split among warring sections and disorder prevailing in the region.[7] Finally it mentions about the levy offered by Ais Bugha, one of the local chiefs of the area.[8] The letter comes to an end with the account of the return journey of Turkish expedition to Delhi.

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1. From Khusrau's statement it seems that he was an official in the Alai administration but perhaps under direct charge of the Crown Prince. No other authority even mentions his name.
2. Barani *V. II* p. 153.
3. *Ibid V. IV* p. 156. He could not be indentified but by epithat 'Elchi' he seems to be an official of lower rank in the Sultanate administration.
4. *Ibid V.* IV p. 147.
5. *Ibid V.* IV p. 148.
6. *Ibid V.* IV p. 150.
7. *Ibid V.* IV pp. 151-152.
8. *Ibid V.* IV p. 155.

From the contents of the despatch it is evident that the expedition was not sent to subjugate any unconqured land or to annex any new territory. Its main object was to have the Khutba recited in the name of Allauddin Khalji in Ghazni and to have secured the allegience of the people of the region to the Sultan of Delhi.[1] In other words it was a punitive expedition against the Mughals.

Doubt has been expressed by modern historians about the genuineness of the despatch. Elliot gave a summary of this despatch for the first time in his work '*History of India as told by its own Historians*', and rejected it on the ground that no other contemporary or near contemporary writer has referred to this expedition.[2] Prof. Hasan Askari[3] and Dr. K.S. Lal[4] however, seem to accept its genuineness and authenticity on its face value as well as on the corroborative information available from other sources. A perusal of these sources should now suffice to establish the authenticity of the document.

From Barani's account we learn that with Kapak's expedition, the last spark of Mughal aggression had died out.[5] By this time, roughly the year 1306, the armies of the Delhi Sultanate who had hitherto been on the defensive, had now begun assuming an offensive attitude towards the Mughals. Farishta states that not only did the Mughals stop attacking the Indian frontiers but that Ghazi Tughlaq, who was appointed at Depalpur with a strong force under him, started leading every year expenditions to "Kabul, Ghazni, Qandhar, Garmsir, and Herat, plundering and ravaging those regions and levying tribute on the inhabitants. The Mughals did not have the courage to come and defend their own frontiers against him."[6] The regions enumerated by Farishta were in those

1. *Ibid. IV* p. 148.
2. *History of India III* p. 566.
3. *Medieval India—A Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 18-20.
4. *History of the Khaljis* p. 146.
5. Barani II p. 153.
6. Ferishta I p. 116 :

«...وپس ازین خوف و هراس بر ضمائر مغلان استیلاء یافته اراده هندوستان
ازخاطرایشان محو گشت و تا آخر عهد سلطان‌قطب الدین مزاحمت ایشان‌نرسید
و غازی ملك تغلق که در دیپال پوری بود هر سال تا کابل و غزنین و قندهار و
گرمسیر وهرات رفته تاخت و تاراج مینمود و از بومیه آنحد و خراج میگرفت و
مغلان را آنقدرت نبود که مقابل غازی ملك تغلق آمده محافظت سرحد خود
توانند نمود.»

days under the virtual control of the Mughals. This entire information clearly compares with what the despatch of Badr-Hajib has to give namely, the Mughals, being divided among themselves were unable to checkmate the march of Ghazi Tughlaq and defend their own frontiers. In the absense of an effective central authority and leadership, they possibly could not organize their defence against the attacks on their region. Subsequently they could not prevent the armies of the Delhi Sultanat led by the bold and adventurous Ghazi Malik from penetrating deep into their territory in general and in frontier regions in particular. The evidence, provided by Ferishta, strongly corroborates the despatch of Badr-Hajib.[1] It not only supports the despatch with regard to the attack of the Delhi army on Ghazni but goes a step further in describing that they had reached as far as Herat.

Barani's account of the offensive taken by Ghazi Malik on the Mughal territory is less explicit than that given by Ferishta. He does not clearly express as to what extent his armies marched and what places they plundered, if not occupied. What he says is that Sultan Tughlaq Shah, who in those days was called Ghazi Malik, had obtained great renown in Hindustan and Khurasan. Ghazni Malik held the territories of Depalpur and Lahor, and, until the end of the reign of Qutb-ud-Din, he proved a barrier against the inroads of the Mughals, occupying, in fact, the position formerly held by Sher Khan. Every winter he led out a chosen force from Depalpur, and marching to the frontiers of the Mughals, he challenged them to come forth. The Mughals were so dispirited that they dared not even make any military display upon their frontiers. No one then cared about them or gave them the slightest thought.[2]

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1. Ferishta I p. 116.
2. Barani II p. 153 :

«...و سلطان تغلق شاه‌را، که دران ایام غازی ملك می گفتند، درخراسان و هندوستان نامی و آوازه بیرون آمد-وتاتتمه ملك قطبی او در اقطاع دیپالپور ولاهور سدباب مغل شده بود، بجای شیر خاں قدیم مستقیم گشة. واوهرسال در ایام زمستان بالشکر خاص خود از دیپالپور بیرون آمدی وتا سرحد های مغل برفتی-مغل را چراغ بر کرده طلب کردی و مغل رامجال نمانده بود که برسر حد های خود برطریق گشت بیایند- وچنان شده بود که نه تشویش مغل در دلی می گزشت و نه نام مغل بر زبانی می رفت-»

Though Barani does not explicitly tell us as to the extent to which the Alai army advanced, it is clear that every winter Ghazi Malik made vigorous onslaughts on the territory of the Mughals, so that they were much frightened and could not dare advance to meet him. Thus it is established, beyond doubt, that Ghazi Malik took offensive against the Mughals, following the argument further, it does not seem unlikely that the Turkish general might have been impelled, in order to consolidate his gain, to penetrate deeper into the region, as the Mughals had done previously in the Indian land. He might have possibly held one or the other city under military control, however short lived. It may be observed that between the statements of Barani and Ferishta, there is a conspicuous gap which remains to be filled. It is here that the importance of the despatch of Badr-Hajib, brought into light by Amir Khusrau is substantiated as it provides missing link.

This much about the external evidences which confirm the despatch though in a limited way. Let us now discuss the internal evidences which the despatch bears and which prove its genuineness and validity of its substance. A careful perusal of document in question enables us to identify some of the names of the nobles who were prominently associated with the events of the Khalji rule. Of these there can certainly be no doubt about the names of Khizr Khan, the crown prince of the Sultanat, and of Badr Dabir, the Hajib of Allauddin Khalji. The letter has been mentioned here as one of the nobles accompanying the Great Khan. From our point of view, however, more important of these is the person called by the title Khan (Khan-i-Azam).[1] This title could not for certain be used for Prince Khizr Khan as he was not known for valour 'martial qualities or generalship. It could have possibly been used for two persons of the Alai reign, either for Zafar Khan or Ghazi Malik. These two great generals were noted for their martial qualities as well as military accomplishments. They were Alai commanders whose vigorous attacks had so much frightened the Mughals that even their names made them shiver.[2] Zafar Khan had been killed in an encounter with the Mughals who had invaded India under the command of Qutlagh Khwaja in the year 1299 A.D.[3] and therefore the possibility of the association of this title with his name is out of question. After his demise the heavy and responsible task of defending the north-western frontier against the fierce

1. *I. K. IV* p. 147.
2. *Barani II* p. 155.
3. *Barani II* p. 155.

onslaughts of the Mughals lay on the shoulders of Ghazi Tughluq. He proved to be equal to the task assigned to him, and acquired fame and reputation for his military genius in India and abroad.[1] It was this fame of his which filled the hearts of the Mughals with dread and fear. There is no exaggeration in the statement made in the despatch that the Mughals got alarmed and terrified on hearing his approach. Evidences of such terrifying onslaughts by Ghazi Malik are not lacking. In the *Tughlaq Namu*, for instance, he has been described as the terror of the Mughals, upon whom he fell like a hungry lion cutting them root and branch and, to be sure, such encounters were by no means few.[2]

The successful repulsion of the invasion of Kapak in 1306 A.D. brought him much fame. He was a co-general with Malilk Kafur.[3] After this graet encounter the back bone of the Mughal strength was substantially broken. The two heroes of the campaign were assigned important tasks in different regions. Malik Kafur was assigned the task of conquering southern parts of India, while Ghazi Malik was posted at Dipalpur with the double responsiblity of the governor as well as of the Warden of the Marches. This appointment is an event of the year 1307. Thus it may safely be inferred that the epithet 'Khan-i-Azam' has been used for none else than Ghazi Malik, who alone could deserve it.

The next internal evidence which supports the historic authenticity of the despatch is a sketchy refrence to the feuds and querells of the mughals who were divided into several warring sections.[4] It seems that in the last days of Alauddin Khalji, the power of the Mughals had crumbled down because of the lack of leadership and the dearth of able generals. There was no one on whom all sections could rely or who could bind them together in a well-knit and composite organization. The despatch makes a picturesque survey of the disorderly political situation in the Mughal regions. It says that 'they were split up in several warring groups and indulged, as a natural consequence, in mutual feuds and querrals. They were as divided as the regions of Transoxiana and Khurasan by the river Jihun. In those regions there was no peace, no law and order. There were rebellions and intrigues everywhere. Anarchy

1. *Barani II* p. 155; *Ferishta* p. 116.
2. *Ibid.* Lines 1434 and 2650-2681.
3. *Barani* II p. 155 and Futuh, 311.
4. I. K. IV pp 151-152.

and chaos prevailed all over their kingdom. The people dwelling in the regions between Ghazni and Sindh were living in a perpetual state of fear, and the Afghans fled and concealed themselves in the Sulaiman Hills.[1] Barani tells us that from 1306 A.D. up to the last days of Alauddin Khalji no major Mughal attack was launched on the Indian territories.[2] Apart from other factors, one was the mutual dissension among the divided groups of the Mughals. This is supported by Isami[3] and Rashiduddin Fazlullah.[4]

The letter gives a graphic description of how the Mughals had been torn assender by faction feuds and rivalries.[5] All this compares very well with what the despatch contains with regard to the condition of the Mughals. In addition it mentions about an embassy having been sent from Qibchaek to Ais Bugha, one of the local chiefs around the Indian frontier.[6] It does not dewell on the purpose of this embassy. Obviously it was no figment of the author's imagination but was based on direct personal knowledge. It shows how intimately he was informed on the affairs of the region, a fact which goes a long way in establishing the document's authenticity.

The third important evidence is the mention of a tribute levied on the locel chieftains by the Sultan of Delhi.[7] Badr Hajib, the author of the document, appears as the officer in charge of collecting this levy and manifestly the document seems to have been written as one of the official despatches from him to the crown prince.

As for the validity of the statement concerning the levy we have on our side the authority of Farishta, a comparatively remoter source in time, yet one who can not be easily set aside. Indirect evidences of such authority exercised by the Sultan of Delhi on the Mughals infesting the frontier, are no less numerous, though we might, for want of space, leave it to the interested reader to see for himself.

Mohd. Yasin Mazhar Siddiqi

1. *Ibid. IV* pp. 151-152.
2. *Barani II* pp. 153-54.
3. *Futuhus Salatin* p. 298.
4. *Jamiut-Tawarikh* pp. 132-133.
5. Rashiduddin Fazlullah *Jamiut-Tawarikh*, Tehran Text pp. 132-133.
6. *I.K.* Vol. IV p. 154.
7. *I.K.* Vol. IV p. 155 : The despatch mentions that Ais Bugha offered to Badr Hajib for his master prince Khizr Khan 'one thousand Tatar horses, two thousand Turkish slave girls and five hundred pieces of Russian 'Katan', Linen,

SOME MUGHAL REVENUE GRANTS TO THE FAMILY AND KHANQAH OF SAIYID ASHRAF JAHANGIR

Some Mughal documents acquired by the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University from Jais, Rai Bareli[1] concern grants of land and money to the adherents and *Khanqah* of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani. The documents--five in number—are in quite a good condition and their texts is completely intact. They cover the reigns of Aurangzeb, Shah 'Alam and Farrukhsiyar. Before describing the documents and discussing their text it is meet that something should be said about the person to whom they concern.

Mir Sayyid Ashraf Simnani popularly known as Ashraf Jahangir,[2] was the son of Ibrahim Sultan, king of Simnan. He ascended the throne at the age of fifteen after the death of his father. After reigning for seven years[3] he abdicated in favour of his younger brother, Muhammad Shah; he assumed the garb of a pilgrim and turned towards India. Here he became the pupil of Shah 'Ala-ul-Haq of Pandua, Bengal, at the beginning of the 14th century; and received from him the title of Jahangir. He, then wandered from town to town[4] in upper India in search of the place which had been indicated to him as his resting place. During his wanderings he also visited Jaunpur, which was then under the sway of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, who received him with great honour and asked the saint to settle there; but he proceeded towards the present Rasulpur. Makhdum Ashraf Jahangir settled at Rasulpur and named the place Ruhabad, and here he died at the age of 120. He was succeeded by Sayyid Abdur Razzaq, the son of Sayyid Hasan Abdul Ghafur, whom Makhdum Ashraf Jahangir had adopted during his wandering in 'Iraq.[5] Abdur Razzaq changed the name of

1. The documents concerned have been catalogued as *Jais;* 1,2,4,5 & 13.
2. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* (Sh. Abdul Haq, Delhi), p. 160.
3. Nizam Gharib Yamini, *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi* (Maulvi Sayyid Nusrat Ali Press, Delhi) II, p. 379.
4. During his wandering he visited Awadh, Jais, Rudauli and Sidhora. *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi,* II, pp. 383-85. An Imambara of Sayyid Ashraf exists at Jais, who shut himself up in a cell for forty days in this place. A fair is held here annually during the first nine days of Zi Hidj. *District Gazetteer of United Provinces* XXXIX, Rae Bareli, pp.181-83.
5. *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi,* II, pp. 379-80.

the village to Rasulpur. He had five sons, of whom the eldest died childless. From the other four, four *sajjadah* were established. Sayyid Hasan and Sayyid Husain Qattal remained at Rasulpur, the third, Sayyid Farid-uddin received the *Khilafat* and *Sajjadah* of Basorhi, while the youngest, Sayyid Haji Ahmad was entrusted the *Sajjada*a at Jais.[1]

The *Dargah* of Makhdum Ashraf is associated with the town of Kichhaunchha, situated near Rasulpur. Shah Muhammad found the hamlet adjoining it and name it Ashrafpur. Their descendants obtained many revenue-free lands from the Delhi sovereigns, and built Kichaunchha and Baskhari. But most of the grants were resumed by Sa'adat 'Ali Khan[2] of Awadh; a part of Rasulpur is still in the possession of the family.

The Shrine of Makhdum Ashraf is built on an elevated ground surrounded by water. It is greatly venerated by Indians and is visited by Muslims and non-muslims alike. A pilgrimage is undertaken to the place between the full moon of Kartik and Aghan.

GENERAL FEATURE OF THE DOCUMENTS

The documents, five in number, concern grants of land and money for the maintenance of the students, mendicants, casual guests and adherents of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani and his sanctuary. excepting documents No. 1—which is a *parwanah*[3] for an annuity of Rs. 400/- all other documents (*Jais* No. 2,4,5 & 13) are proper *Madad-i-Ma'ush*[4] grants in land. Some very interesting points are noticable

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1. *Ibid.*, p.414.
2. *District Gazetteer of U.P.*, XLIII, Faizabad, pp.237, 159-60.
3. *Parwanah* : Abul Fazal informs us : "*Farman* Sometimes are written in *Tughra* character, but the first two lines are not made short. Such a *Farman* is called a *Parwancha*." Further, the *Parwanchas* were made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums, and the princes; for the stipends of the people under the care of the *Diwan-i-Sa'adat*. *Ain-i-Akbari*, (ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 1274 A. H.) I, p. 155 (Blochmann, I p. 272).
   Our documents come under the second category, i. e. stipends under the care of *Diwan-i-Sa'adat*. The *Parwanah*, differs from a *Farman*, in this matter also, that it is issued by a grandee, a governor or minister of state.
4. *Madad-i-Ma'ash* : Grant of means of subsistance in general; also assignment of revenue for the support of learned or religious Muhammadan or benevolent institutions by the government, *Glossory of the Judicial and Revenue Terms*; Wilson, p. 314.

in the documents which are all *parwanahs* :

1. The four documents of land grants, mention the grants not in terms of *bigha*, but refer to the grant of whole *Mauza's*[1] (villages).
2. No two documents refer to the grant of the same village. It means that several villages, were granted at different times for the up-keep of the Shrine.
3. The documents are not for endowment *(waqf)* but for *Madad-i-Ma'ash*, in the name of individual persons, mostly, the *Sajjadah Nashins* of the *Khanqah*.
4. The last three documents (Nos. 2,5 and 13) not only belong to the reign of Farrukhsiyar, but all three were issued in the 3rd year of his reign.

The first document (No.1), of the series, is a *Parwanah* of Muhtashim Khan[2] a noble of Aurangzeb's court, issued in the 49th year of

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Under the Mughals the *Madad-i-Ma'ash* was not confined to the Muslims, for available documents make it amply clear that the non-Muslims also were granted land and money for subsistance. See *The Mughals and Jogis of Jakhbar*, Goswami; *Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, Modi, pp. 92-3; 119-120, and 132. *Studies in Parsi History*, Hodiwala, pp. 167-8; *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, V, pt. iv, VI, pt. i, & VII pts. i & ii.

1. "The *Madad-i-Ma'ash* grants were as a rule, made in terms of definite areas stated in *Bighas*" remarks Dr. Irfan Habib, but he accepts that exceptions existed, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 301 & p. 17. The grants with which we are concerned were made in terms of *Mauza's* (villages).

2. Muhtashim Khan: His proper name was Mir Ibrahim. He was the eldest son of Sheikh Mir Khwafi, who was the chief of the intimates of Prince Aurangzeb, in early days. Ibrahim's career was very checkard. He attained to some of the highest posts in the Empire but when he displeased Aurangzeb, he was interned in prison. He went to pilgrimage in Hijaz. In the 18th year of Aurangzeb's reign, after his return from there, the Mir received the title of Muhtashim Khan and was confirmed in the rank of 1500. He served in the capacity of the Faujdar of Langar Kot and later of Mewat. He was also appointed to the governorship of Agra, Allahabad and Aurangabad. (for further details of his career see, *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, (Shah Nawaz Khan, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1888-90) III, pp. 645-650. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Khafi Khan, (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta), II, p. 532, 533, 537. In what capacity he issued this *parwanah* is not known, for about 47th year he was appointed and later suspended from the governorship of Naldurg and when Aurangzeb turned his attention towards Wagingera and the fort was surrendered, he was still without office and received the governorship of the fort at the request of the Priya Nayak of the said fort. But he could not have been idle and without post all this time, for without holding any important post he could not have issued the *parwanah*. His seal bears 1094/1683.

the latter's reign. It is addressed to the 'present and future revenue officers of the Parganah Nasirabad' and concerns the yearly grant of Rs. 400/- for the upkeep of the *Khanqah*. It is interesting to note that the *Parwanah* which was written on the 14th Zi Qadh, passed through all the preliminaries in two days, i.e. the officers-concerned entered it in the records of their respective departments, or received the copies and signed and sealed them on the 16th of Zi Qadh as is evident from the endorsements on the back of the document. This not only points to us the emergency felt in the case of the grantee, but convinces us about the efficiency of the administrative machinery even under the later Mughals.

The second document (document No.4) is a *parwanah* bearing the seals of Asaf-ud-daulah,[1] the *wakil*, Mu'azzam Khan[2] Khan-i-Khanan,

1. *Asaf-ud-daulah:* His name was Muhammad Ibrahim; he was the third son of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu. He received the title of Asad Khan from Shah Jahan. He continued in favour under Aurangzeb. Prince A'zam Shah also treated him with honour. After the death and defeat of A'zam Shah he arrived at Agra Jamad II, 1119 A. H. He was appointed *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* with a rank of 8,000 horse, *Do aspa* by Shah Alam. He was granted the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Asaf-ud-daulah. His old office of first Bakhshi was also confirmed on him. (for further details see, *The later Mughals*, Irvine pp. 36-38; *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, I, pp. 328-30; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, pp. 600-601).

2. *Mu'azzam Khan :* Muazzam Khan's name was Muhammad Mun'im or Mun'im Khan. His father's name was Sultan Beg Birlas. After his father's death he went to the Deccan and through skilful service in the imperial army he came to the notice of Ruh Ullah Khan, the *Mir Bakhshi*, and he was made keeper of his seal. Later by good service he got promotion and became known to the Emperor Aurangzeb. After serving in various capacities, he was appointed *Diwan* of the eldest prince, Mohahammad Mu'azzam and the Diwani of Kabul was also assigned to him. He kept himself wise to the trends of the changing times and secretly and openly exerted himself in the interest of the prince. By chance the news of the death of the Emperor reached Mun'im Khan on the 25th Zi Hidj, 1118 A. H. (19th March 1707). When on 2nd Safar the Prince reached Lahore from Peshawar – which was the winter quarter of Kabul, Mun'im Khan had collected 5000 horses and a powerful artillery, and presented himself for service. By the time they reached Sirhind his rank had been raised to 4,000 with 2,000 horse and he had been granted the title of Khan Zaman and presented *Togh* and kettledrums. Later his rank was advanced to 5,000 with 5,000 horse and he was granted the title of Bahadur Zafar Jang. In the battle with A'zam Shah he was the principal figure.

   After the victory against A'zam Shah, Shah 'Alam visited him and granted him the title of Khan Khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang and *Yar-i-Wafadar*. He presented him with a karor of rupees in cash and goods and his *Mansab* was raised to 7,000 and 7,000 horse, 5000 being *do aspa* and *seh aspa*. *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 667-77. *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Elliot

the *wazir* of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Badshah,[1] confirming the grant of Mauza' Ashrafpur, on Musammat Khadija, etc.

This grant was made originally by Shah 'Alam himself in Jamad II, the 3rd year of his reign, as the *parwanah* makes reference to it. It is interesting to note that all the shareholders in the grant were women.[2]

The third document (Doc. No.2) is a *parwanah* of Raja Chabila Ram[3] issued on the 23rd Muharram, 3rd regnal year of Farrukhsiyar,[4] corresponding to A.H.1127/A.D.1615. It is not a regular *parwanah* as described by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*. The endorsements

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& Dowson, viii, pp. 500-549 (ed. 1877). After the defeat of Kam Bakhsh he received the title of Mu'azzam Khan. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 625.

1. *Shah 'Alam:* The second son of Aurangzeb; after the death of his elder brother, Sultan Muhammad, he became heir-apparent. He was styled Shah 'Alam in the life-time of his father. After the death of his father, he celebrated his accession near Lahore and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah (1707 A. D.) his reign lasted five years.
2. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Yusuf Mirak, p. 158 (ed. Hisamuddin Rashdi) mentions two types of grants: *Chakha-i-Musammati* (lands held by women) and *Chakha-i-Muzakkarati* (lands held by men). The grant with which we are concerned, was of the former type.
3. *Chabila Ram:* His full name was Chabila Ram Nagar; Nagar being a branch of the Brahman Caste, living in Gujarat. Chabila Ram (Capla in text, see Irvine *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Bengal, 1898, but clearly Chabila in the seal) and his brother Daya Ram were revenue servants of Sultan 'Azim-ush-Shan. Afte Daya Ram's death, Chabila Ram became Faujdar of Karra-Jahanabad. When Farrukhsiyar started from Patna to claim sovereignty and fight his uncle Jahanadar Shah, Chabila Ram joined Farrukhsiyar with some lacs of rupees and a suitable force, in Shawwal, 1124/Nov. 1712. In the battle he was opposed to Kokaltash Khan, and did good service, and after the victory he received the rank of 5000 and the office of the *Diwan* of the *Khalisa*. (He would have received the post soon after the battle for the seal bears the year 1124, the first regnal year of Farrukhsiyar). As this post which is subordinate to the wazirship was given to him without the approval of Qutb-ul-Mulk, the *wazir*, it became a cause of disagreement between the king and the *wazir*; Chabila Ram received the government of Allahabad (Irvine, I, p. 214; *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 328-30). Chabila Ram would have been transferred from the Diwani, after the 3rd year of Farrukhsiyar's reign for the two documents in the series bearing his seal were issued in Muharram, and Zi Hidj. of the third year of Farrukhsiyar's reign respectively.
4. *Farrukhsiyar:* He was the second son of 'Azim-ush-Shan. He was born, at Aurangabad in Deccan, on the 9th Ramzan 1194 H/11th September 1683. He ascended the throne in 1124 H/1712. His rule lasted seven years and he died in 1131 H/1719 A.D. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi*, British Museum Rieu 1,404, Add. 22831, f. 287; *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 198-219.

on the back are only signed but not sealed. It is a confirmation of the Mauza' Rokha, granted previously to Sayyid Muhammad Baqa, the *Sajjadah Nashin* of Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahangir, which was in his possession in accordance with former *Sanads*. Confirmation is 'on former conditions'. As the *Sanads* in which the conditions were recorded are not with us, we are not in a position to form any idea of the concessions granted in them, and the items on which the revenue from the village was to be expended.

The fourth document (Doc. No.5) is a *parwanah* bearing the seal of 'Sarbuland Khan Bahadur[1], slave of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar Badashah Ghazi', for the transfer of a grant from Kasar:a to Bhagupur, parganah Bisoli, Sarkar Lakhnau, as the former was situated among the villages of infidels who caused trouble to the servants of the *Khanqah* of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir. The grant was for the upkeep of the students, and mendicants who flocked to the *Khanqah*. The *parwanah* was issued on 2nd Shaban, 3rd year of Farrukhsiyar's reign, and is on an ordinary paper.

The last document of the series (No. 13) is a confirmation of Mauza' Dhaurahrah, which, according to the *parwanah* was granted by Sarbuland Khan for the maintenance of the students attached to the *Khanqah* of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir. Issued in Zi Hadj, third year of Farrukhsiyar's reign the document bears the same seal of Raja Chabila Ram as no 2. This document obviously does not refer to that *parwanah* of Sarbuland Khan which was issued in Shaban of 1127 H., for, the

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1. *Sarbuland Khan*: He was an inhabitant of Lun and his name was Mirza Rafi.' His father Muhammad Afzal Khan was a noble of Aurangzeb. As 'Aiysha Begum the second daughter of Mirza Rafi was married to Sultan 'Azim-ush-Shan, during the reign of Bahadur Shah (at the request of the said prince) he received the title of Sarbuland Khan. and was employed in the prince's establishment. He displayed great bravery in the battle with A'zam Shah and obtained the title of Mubariz-ul-Mulk (Mumtaz-ul-Mulk, Elliot and Dowson, viii, p. 340). When prince 'Azim-ush-Shan was slain, Sarbuland Khan, disregarding his earlier obligations, for-sook Farrukhsiyar, the son of 'Azim-ush-Shan and joined Mu'izuddin. He was deputed to Gujarat on the part of Asad Khan, the minister. After Farrukhsiyar's accession, he was forgiven at the recommendation of Qutb-ul-Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullah Khan and the governorship of Awadh was confirmed on him. After sometime he was removed from office and came to the court. At the transfer of Mir Jumlah, however, he was appointed governor of 'Azimabad. *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, iii, 801; 806; *History of India as told by its own Historians*, viii, 340. *The later Mughals*, I, p. 262. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, pp. 693, 715, 768, 769.

village referred to in that document is Bhagupur and not Dhaurahra. Probably, when Sarbuland Khan transferred the old grant from Kasaria to Bhagupur, he made another grant, simultaneous with or prior to that referred to in Doc. No. 5. But that *parwanah* is not available. The need of this confirmation was felt, probably because Sarbuland Khan was soon afterwards transferred from Awadh.

It is interesting to note that, though three places are associated with the name of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir, i.e. Jais, Basorhi and Kichhaunchha, and at all these places his descendants are holding *sajjadas*; the documents do not specifically mention for which of the three places the grants were made. But all documents bear the name of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir to denote that grants were made for the expenses of his *Khanqah*. The villages granted are not anywhere near Kichhaunchha where the shrine is actually situated, but probably they were for the maintenance of Ashrafpur (Kichhaunchha) shrine.

JAIS. DOC. 1

Sayyid Ashraf[1] Jahangir
(Seal) Muhtashim[2] Khan
Fidvi-i-Badshah Aiamgir.
1-94

Be it known to the present and future Mutasaddis[3] of the *Parganah*[4]-Nasirabad, that the true conditions of the knower of truth and subtleties, Sayyid 'Ata Ashraf, the *Sajjada Nashin*[5] of *Qadwat-ul-Arifin, Burhan-us-Salikin Hazrat*[6] ... ... reached us, that he had to spend a lot on the maintenance of the poor and students[7]. Therefore, an amount of Rs. 400/- is allotted from the revenues of the above mentioned *parganah*, for the upkeep of the *Khanqah*,[8] from

the beginning of the *Kharief*[9] crop, pars'el.[10] It is incumbent that the aforesaid *Saliana*[11] should be conveyed to the above mentioned (person), every year and in each season, so that spending it on his maintenance he should engage himself in praying for the permanence of the everlasting Dominion.[12] In this matter every care should be taken.

Written on the 14th day of the month of Zi Qadh,[13] 49th regnal year.[14] Baiz.[15]

(On the back of the Document)

Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir

Regulardetail of the abstract[16], in accordance with the record of circumstances[17] which has been received under the special signature : that the knower of truth and subtleties, Sayyid 'Ata Ashraf *Sajjadah Nashin* of the *Qadwat-ul-Arifin, Burhan ul-Salikin*, reverent...have numerous expanses of the *Khanqah*, (including) stray guestes,[18] and students and poor people.[19] They are expectant of monetary help from the *Sarkar*,[20] for the upkeep of the *Khanqah*. Whatever should be ordered in this matter.

Detail of the special signature is that an yearly allowance of Rs. 400/- should be allotted, from the beginning of Kharief crop, pars'el.

On the right hand margin :

The copy reached the office of the Diwan[21] on 16th Zi Qadh, year 49, *sad*[22] *Dal.*

On the left hand margin :

a. The copy reached the office of Istifa, on 16th Zi Qadh, year 49.

Mim[23]

b. Copy reached the office of the *Sadr*,[24] on 16th Zi Qadh year 49.

Sad

Seals

a.........Bandah,[25] Riza-i-Khuda[26]
(below) Affixed[27] on 16th Zi Qadh

Dal

b.........Khan, Fidvi, Ya Habib Allah
(Below) Affixed on 16th Zi Qadh.

Sad

c.........Shud Kamtarin Makhluqat.[28]

سید اشرف جهانگیر

۱۰۹م
دشاه عالم گیر ل
محتشم خان فدو

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال پرگنه نصیر آباد
معلوم نمایند که حقیقت حقایق و معارف آگاه سید
عطا اشرف سجاده نشین قدوة العارفین برهان السالکین
حضرت بوضوح پیوست که خرچ فقراوطلبه بسیار
دارند بنابران مبلغ چهار صد عدد روپیه دروجه
سالیانه برای خرچ خانقاه مشارٌالیه ازابتدای فصلخریف
پارسئیل ازمحصول پرگنه مسطور مرحمت نموده شد
باید که سالیانه مرقوم راسال بسال و فصل بفصل
بموی‌الیه میرساینده باشد که صرف مایحتاج خودنموده
بدعای بقائی دولت جاوید طراز استغال داشة باشند
درینباب مبالغه تمام دانند تحریراً فی‌التاریخ ۱م شهر ذی‌قعدة
سنه۹م جلوس والا بیض

سید اشرف جهانگیر

قرره شرح ضمن بموجب فرد حقیقت که بدستخط خاص رسیده آنکه حقایق ومعارف آگاه سید عطا اشرف سجاده نشین قدوةالعارفین برهان السالکین مخدوم قدس سره خرچ خانقاه واردوصادر فقراوطلبه بسیار دارند امیدوار اند که برای خرچ خانقاه خرچی از سرکار مرحمت شود درین باب هرچه حکم شود

شرح دستخط خاص آنکه

ازابتدای خریف پارسئیل سدمبلغ چارصدعددروپیه سالیانه بد هند ه

بتاریخ ۲۶ اشهر ذی قعده سنه ۹۴
نقل ودفتر بوان رسید

اسماعله

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]

بتاریخ ۲۶ ذی قعده سنه ۹۴
نقل بدفتر استیفا رسید

بتاریخ ۲۶ ذی قعده سنه ۹۴
نقل دفتر صدارت رسید

JAIS. DOC. 4

Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir
Mu'alla
Seal[1]

Asaf-ud-daulah
Banda-i-Shah
'Alam Badshah
Ghazi Ist R. Y.

Seal

2nd R. Y.[2]
Mu'azzam Khan
Khan Khanan
Zafar Jang Bahadur
loyal servant of
Shah Alam Badshah
Ghazi, 1120.

Be it known to the present and future *gumashtas* of the *Jagirdars*[3] ahd *Karoris*[4] of paraganah Kishni, Sarkar Lakhnau, environ of the province of Awadh that : according to the royal *farman*[5] of the lord of the world, the just *Khalifah*, medium of peace and security, decoration of the world, Shadow of most high God, deputy of the Excellent, Unrivalled One, manifestation of the Omnipotent, gift of the universal Creator, founder of the edifice of royalty, prop of royal regulations, asylum of Khilafat, the shadow[6]……..[7] written on the 23rd Jamal 11,[8] third regnal year, that Mauza' Ashrafpur, *darobist*,[9] in the jurisdiction of the aforesaid Parganah, was granted from *Kharief, Udi'el*[10] to Musammat Khadija etc. adherents of Sayyid Muhammad Fazil, son of Sayyid Abul 'Ala, one of the descendants of *Zubdat-ul-Wasilin*,[11] in *Madad-i-Ma'ash* according to the *zimn* (per detail). It is therefore, ordered that acting according to the grand *farman*, the aforementioned village should be left in their possession, and no change and alteration should be introducted; and on no pretext should any demand be made. If they have got anything in any other *mahal*, it should not be considered theirs.[12] Every care should be taken in this matter. Written on the 17th of the month of Ramzan,[13] 3rd year of the reign. *Baiz.*

*Mim*____________________

Details should be put down;

Mim *Sad*

Regular detail : For *Madad-i-Ma'ash*, in the name of Musammat

Khadija etc., according to the grand *Farman*, from paraganah Kishni Sarkar Lakhnau province of Awadh from Kharief, Udi'el :
20 persons

	For the whole year		*One Mauza'dar bist*
Rs. 200			
Aforesaid	Mostt. Hafizah	Mostt.Fatima	Mostt. Sa'rah
Mostt. Shakirah	" Zehra	" 'Ayesha	" Ni'mat
" Karimah	" Butul	" Zenab	" Rasti
" Ruqayya	" Amna	" Sharifah	" Rabi'ah
" Sajidah	" Gosain	" Gohar	" Rahimah

Baiz

Endorsements on the right hand margin :

a. The copy reached the office of the *A'imma-i-Uzam*[14] on the 17th o' Ramazan, 3rd Regnal year.

b. Entered in the *Avarja.*[15]

Dal

ـ

سید اشرف جهانگیر

سنه احد غازے گماشتهای معسلےجاگیرداران و کروربان حال و استقبال پرگنه
بنده شاه عالم بادشاه کشنی مضاف بصو(؟به) اوده بدانند که بموجب فرمان
آصف الدولد والا شان بندگا نحضرت ز میں و زماں خلیفه معدلت
نشاں ذریعه امن و اماں سبیل آرائش عالمیان ظل ظلیل
سنه ۱۱۲۰ غازے ایزد متعال نائب نبیل دادارے همال مظهر ایم پروردگار
شاه عالم بادشاه رحمت اعم آفرید گاربانی بنائے جها نبانی مسند قوانین
بهادر ظفرجنگ وفادار کیش شهانے خلافت پناه ظل..مرقوم بیست وسیوم
فدوی معظم خان خانخاناں جمادی الاخرسنه ۳ جلوس موضع اشرف پور دربست
سنه ۲ عمل پرگنه مذکور از خریف اودئیل دروجه مدد
معاش مسماة خدیجه وغیره وابستگان سید محمد فاضل
ولد سید ابوالعلی ازفرزندان زبدةالواصلین..حسب الضمن
مقرر گشة باید که مطابق فرمان والا شان بعمل آورده
موضع مسطور رابتصرف آنها بازگذ ارند واصلاً و
مطلقاً تغیرو تبدل بداں راه ند هندو بو جهی من الوجوه
طلب و طمع ننما یند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزی داشة
باشد آنرا اعتبار نکند در ینباب قدغن دانند هفدهم
شهر رمضان المبارك سنه ۳ جلوس قلمی شد یبض

ضمن قلمی نمایند ـــــ سما

م ص

مقرره ضمن دروجه مددمعاش باسم مسماة خدیجه وغیره بموجب فرمان والاشان مرقوم صدر از پرگنهٔ کشنی سرکار لکهنؤ مضاف بصوبه اوده از خریف لوی ئیل

عدد اسامی

ماعصه سالتمام یکموضع دربست

مشامر الیها مسماة مسماة مسماة

حافظ فاطمة سائره

مسماة مسماة مسماة مسماة

شاکره زهره عایشه نعمت

مسماة مسماة مسماة مسماة

کریمه بتول زینت زا سی

مسماة مسماة مسماة مسماة

رقیه آمنه شریفه رابعه

مسماة مسماة مسماة مسماة

ساجده کسائیں گوهر رحیم

بیض

بتاریخ هفدهم شهر رمضان سنه ۲ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر اعظم رسید بیض

داخل ا ا ارجه نموده شد بیض

JAIS. DOC. 2

Makhdum Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir
Seal

Rajah Chabila Ram Bahadur, Fidvi-i-Muhammad Farrukhsiyar Badshah Ghazi
1124. 1st Regnal year.

Be it known to the present and future *Mutasaddis* of the paraganah Sultanpur, sarkar and Subah of Awadh that: Mauza' Rokha, in the jurisdiction of the prosperous paraganah (Sultanpur), which was granted in *Madad-i-Ma'ash* to Sayyid Muhammad Baqa, *Sajjada Nashin* of *Qadwat-ul-Arifin*......according to the former *sanads*,[1] should be ratified and consigned on the old conditions in accordance with the details *(hasb-vs-zimn)*. It is (here by) ordered that the said village should be left in the possession of the afore-mentioned person, and that he should not be molested or troubled for *Hububat*,[2] comprising of *Muqarrari*,[3] *Shuhnagi*,[4] *Pattahdari*,[5] *Bhent*,[6] *Chitthawan*,[7] etc. So that spending the revenues from it on his maintenance, he should engage himself in praying for the longevity of age and the permanence of the everlasting Dominion. Care should be taken in this matter and nothing contrary to it must be done. Written 22nd Muharram,[8] 3rd Regnal Year. *Baiz*

Makhdum Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir

Zimn should be written:

The regular detail of the contents is that: Mauza' Rokha, in the jurisdiction of paragana Sultanpur, sarkar and subah of Awadh, has been granted in *Madad-i-Ma'ash* to the knower of truth and subtleties, Sayyid Muhammad Baqa, *Sajjadah Nashin* of the model of saints......Hereby it is consigned and confirmed on the old conditions.

Explanation of the special signature is that the *Parwanah* should be written.

One village dar-bist

Endorsements

On the right hand margin:

(a) Entered in the *Imperial Siyaha*, on the 22nd of the month of Muharram, 3rd Regnal year.

Mim

(b) Copy reached the office of the *Diwan*, on 22nd of the sacred month of Muharram, 3rd Regnal year.

Dal

On the left hand margin:

Copy reached the office of *Istifa*, on the twenty-second Muharram, 3rd Regnal yrar.

Sad

ل

مخدوم سید اشرف جهانگیر

۱۱۲۴ محمد فرخ سیر متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال پرگنه سلطان پور
بادشاه غازی فدوی سرکار وصوبه اوده بدانند که چون موضع روکها
راجه چهبیله رام بهادر معموله پرگنه مسعود بموجب اسناد پیشین مروجه مدد
سنه احد بهادر معاش حقایق ومعارف آگاه سید محمدبقا سجاده نشین
قدوة العارفین . . . مقرر است درین ولانیز بدستور
سابق حسب الضمن مقرر و مسلم می شورباید که موضع
مسطور رابتصرف موی الیه گذاشته بعلت مقرری
وشحنگی و پته داری و بهینٹ و چتهاون وغیره حبوبات
آنجا مزاحم و معترض احوال رعایا و کسان سید
مذکور نشوند تاحاصلات آنرا صرف مایحتاج خود
نموده بدعاگوی ازدیاد عمرودولت ابد مدت اشتغال
مینموده شد درینباب تاکید تمام دانسته تخلف ولنحراف
نورزند بتاریخ بست و دوم شهر محرم‌الحرام ۳ جلوس
والا قلمي شد بیض

مخدوم سید غلام اشرف

ضمن نوشته

مقرره شرح ضمن آنکه موضع روکها معموله پرگنه ساطانپور سرکار و صوبه اوده دروجه مدد معاش حقایق و معارف آگاه سید محمد بقا سجاده نشین قدوة العارفین مقرر است دربولا نیز بدستور سابق مقرر و مسلم داشته شـــد

شرح دستخط خاص آنکه
پروانه قلمی شد

یك موضع دربست

بتاریخ بیست و دوم شهر محرم الحرام سنه ۳ جلوس والا
نقل سیاهه حضور شد

بتاریخ بیست و دوم محرم الحرام سنه ۳
نقل دفتر دیوان رسید

بتاریخ بیست و دوم محرم سنه ۳
نقل بدفتر استیفا رسید

JA'IS. DOC. 5

Hu

Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir

Seal

Sarbuland Khan slave of Muhammad Farrukhsiyar Badshah Ghazi

Be it known to the *Mutasaddis* of the present and future affairs of the paraganah Bisoli, Sarkar[1] Lakhnau, the province of Awadh that: it became known (to us) that the knower of truth and subtleties, Shah Muhammad Wafa Ashrafi, from among the sons (descendants) of *Qadwat-ul-Arifin, Rais-ul-Muhaqqaqin, Qutb-ul-Aqtab-i-Rabbani,...* who is of devout and contented nature, and is adorned with the robe of perfection and talent, has no money for the maintenance of the poor and students who come to the *khanqah.* As Mauza' Kasaria *Dar bist*, in the jurisdiction of the aforesaid *parganah*, which was granted in *Madad-i-Ma'ash* to the ancester of the above-mentioned person, according to the royal order, is surrounded by the villages of infidels, who give trouble to the *khudama* (servants) of the above-named Sayyid; so, on the request of the *Khudama, Mauza'* Bhagupur[5], *Dar bist*, from the jurisdiction of the above-named parganah, is granted in lieu of the former one, for the maintenance of the *Khanqah* of the said Sayyid from the beginning of the autumn crop *(Kharief)* '.lan'el[3] (snake year), 1144 'Amali[4], according to the *zimn* (per detail). It is meet that it should be left in the possession of the *Khudama* of the above mentioned (person). On all account refrain from troubling and molesting them, so that spending the revenue from it, they should engage themselves in praying for the permanance of the perpetual dominion. Care should be taken in this matter.

Written on the 2nd of the month of Sha'ban,[5]
3rd R. Y.

Baiz

(On the back of the document.)

Patent for the *Mauzas* of Kasaria and Bhagupur
Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir
Zimn should be written.

Regular endorsement is that: according to the royal *farman*, Mauza Kasaria, *Dar bist*, in the jurisdiction of parganah Bisoli, Sarkar Lakhnau, province Awadh, was granted to the ancester of the knower of truth and subtleties, Shah Muhammad Wafa Ashrafi, from among the sons (descendants) of the model of saints, leader of the mystics, pole star of divinity,...... As the wicked infidels troubled them, at the request of the servants of the aforesaid Sayyid, Mauza' Bhagupur, *Dar bist*, was granted in lieu of the said *Dar bist*, in the jurisdiction of the above mentioned *parganah*, from the autumn crop, 'Ilan'el 1144 '*Amali*, for the expenses of the *Khanqah* of the afore-said person.

One Mauza' Dar bist

Endorsement
On the right hand margin:

(a) The copy reached the office on the 2nd of the month of Sha'ban, 3rd year of the reign.

Mim

(b) The copy reached the office of the *Diwan*, on the 2nd of the sacred month of the Sha'ban, 3rd R. Y.

Dal

سید اشرف جهانگیر قدس سره‌العزیز

غازے | متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال پرگنه بسولی سرکار
محمد فرخ سیر بادشاه | لکهنؤ صوبه اودهه بدانند چون بوضوح پیوست
بـــنـــده | که حقایق و معارف آگاه شاه محمد وفا اشرفی از
سر بلند خان بهادر | فرزندان قدوة العارفین رئیس المحققین قطب الا

قطاب ربانی متعبدو متوکل اند و بحلیه فضیلت واستعداد
پیراستگی دارند و فقراء و طلبا که در خانقاه مومی‌الیه
واردو صادر میبود صرف آنها نیست موضع کسریه
درو بست عمله پرگنه مذکور که بموجب فرمان مطاعه
دروجه مدد معاش جد اعلی مومی الیه مقرر (بود؟) چون
آنموضع درمیان دیهات کفار چون نقطه پرکار واقع
است از آنها بخد ماتی سید مشارء الیه آزار میرسد لهذا
التماس حذمای مذکوره بعوض درو بست موضع
مذکور موضع بهاکوپور دروبست معموله پرگنه مسطور
دروجه خرچ خانقاه سید مصدور از ابتدائی فصلخریف
ئیلان ئیل ۱۱۳۳ عملی حسب‌الضمن مقرر و مفوض
نموده شه که آنرا صرف مایحتاج خودنموده بدعای بقای
عمرو دولت ابدمدت اشتغال منیموده باشندد رین باب
تاکید دانند دویم‌شهر شعبان‌المعظم سنه۳ جلوس‌والاتحریر

یافت بیـض

کاغذ موضع کسریه و موضع بهاکوپور

ضمن ز سیلد

سید اشرف جهانگیر قدس سره العزیز

بتاریخ دوم شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۳ جلوس والا نقل بدفتر رسید

مقرره ضمن آنکه موضع کسریه در بست عمله پرگنه بسولی سرکار لکهنؤ صوبه اوده بموجب فرمان مطاعه دروجه مدد معاش جد اعلی حقایق و معارف آگاه شاه محمد وفا اشرفی از فرزندان قدوة العارفین رئیس المحققین قطب الاقطاب ربانی مقرر بود بسبب ایزای کفره فجره بالتماس خدمای سید مشارٌ الیه بعوض موضع مذکور درو بست موضع بهاکو پور دربست معموله پرگنه مسطور راز ابتدائی فصلخریف ئیلان ئیل سنه ۱۱۳۳ عملی دروجه خرج خانقاه مومی الیه مقرر و مفوض نموده شد

یکموضع در بست

بتاریخ ۲ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ۳ نقل دفتر دیوان رسید

JAIS DOC. NO. 13

Makhdum Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir

Raja Chabila Ram, Bahadur, Fidvi-i-Farrukhsiyar Badshah Ghazi, 1124, Ist Regnal year.

Be it know to the *Mutasaddis* of the present and future affairs of parganah Sultanpur, Sarkar and Subah of Awadh that: as Mauza' Dhaurahra, *Dar bist*, in the jurisdiction of the said parganah, has been granted according to *parwanah* of Sarbuland Khan for the expenses of the poor (people), students and casual guests to the sacred and illustrious shrine of the best of the enlightened and model saints......... At this time also, the same village should be confirmed and assigned on the former conditions. It is incumbent that the aforesaid village should be left in the possession of the servants of the sacred shrine and that they should not be molested and inconvenienced for such *hububat* as *Muqarrari*, *Shuhnagi*, *Bhent*, *Chitshawan* and *Pattahdari*. So that, spending the revenues from it on their maintenance, they should engage themselves in praying for the logevity of life and the permanence of the dominion. Care should be taken in this matter.

[On the back of the document]

Written on the 10th of the month of Zi Hidj, 3rd regnal year.

Patent for Mauza Dhaurahrah

Makhdum Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir

The regular detail of the contents is that Mauza' Dhaurahrah *Dar bist*, in the jurisdiction of parganah Sultanpur, *Sarkar* and

Subah of Awadh, was granted for the expenses of the poor (mendicant), students and casual guests of the sacred shrine of the best of the enlightened ones, and model of saints...... It is now confirmed and assigned on the former conditions.

The detail (explanation) of the special signature is that *parwanah* should be written.

One Mauza', Dar bist

Endorsements

On the right hand margin:

(a) Entered in the royal Siyaha on the 10th of the month of Zi Hidj, 3rd regnal year.

Mim

(b) Copy reached the office of the *Diwan* on the 10th of the month of Zi Hidj, 3rd R. Y. *Sad.*

Dal

ل

مخدوم سید اشرف جهانگیر

۱۱۲۴ محمد فرخ سیر
بادشاه‌غازے
راجه چهبیله بهادر رام
فدوی سنه احمد

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال پرگنه سلطان پور
سرکار وصوبه اودهه بدانند که چون موضع دهورهره
دربست عمله پرگنه مذکور بموجب پروانه نواب
سربلند خان بهادر بواسطه خرچ فقراو طلبه‌علم واردین
و صادرین درگاه مقدسه منوره زبدة الواصلین
قدوة العارفین مقرر است درین
و لا نیز موضع مذکور حسب الضمن
بدستور سابق مقرر و مسلم داشة شد باید که موضع
مرقومه درتصرف خادمان روضه متبرکه گزاشة بعلت
مقرر وشحنگی و پٹه‌داری و بهینت و چهتاون وغیره
حبوبات آنجا مزاحم و معترض احوال رعایا موضع
مذکوره نشوند تا حاصلات آنراصرف مااحتاج آنها
نموده بدعایگوی ازدیاد عمر و دولت ابد مدت مشغول
باشند درین باب تاکید داشة بتاریخ ۱۰ شهر دی حجه
سنه ۳ جلوس والا قلمی شد

کاغذ موضع دهو رهره

عمله پرگنه سلطان پور

مخدوم سید اشرف جهانگیر

مقرر شرح ضمن آنکه موضع دهورهره در بست معموله پرگنه سلطان پور سرکار و صوبه اوده بموجب پروانه نواب سر بلند خان بهادر بواسطه خرچ فقرا و طلبه علم و واردین و صادرین درگاه مقدسه زبدة الواصلین قدوة العارفین مقرراست درنیولا نیز بدستور سابق مقرر ومسلم داشته شد

بتاریخ ۱۰ شهر ذی حجه سنه ۳۲ جلوس والا
داخل سیاهه حضور رسید

بتاریخ دوم شهر ذی حجه سنه ۲۴
نقل دفتر دیوان رسید

شرح دستخط خاص آنکه

پروانه قلمی نمایند

یك موضع دربست

DOCUMENT NO. 1

1. All the documents bear the name of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir, as all the grants concern his *Khangah* (hospice).

2. Round seal bearing the inscription : "Muhtashim Khan, servant of Badshah 'Alamgir, 1094". The date signifies not the year when the document was issued for that is inscribed at the end of the document but the date when Muhtashim Khan was granted some important post at the court of Aurangzeb.

3. The term *Mutasaddi* is translated as 'a clerk' by Wilson. *(Glossory of the judicial and Revenue Terms*, p. 395). But in general it is often used for the "officials". In these document also, it has been used in its general sense.

4. *Parganah* : a district, a tract of country comprising many villages, but which several go to constitute a *Chakla*. *Glossory;* Wilson, 402. Professor Irfan Habib has defined parganahs as "territorial *Mahals*." *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 259.

5. *Sajjadah Nashin*: Literally The sitter on the praying carpet; usually applied to the spiritual superior of a mosque or religious endowment as distinct from the *Mutawalli*, or secular supervisor and manager; although the two offices are not unfrequently united in the same person. *Glossory*, Wilson, p. 455. Generally the term is applied to a spiritual successor in charge of some shrine or the other.

6. *Qadwat-ul 'Arifin, Burhan-us-Salikin*: The first term signifies 'the best of the mystics' and the second 'a veritable ascetic or mystic.' It is used to emphasise the spiritual superiority of the person to whom it is applied.

7. The blank space is for the name of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir. Which has been put in the beginning of the document. It was the current practice that to show respect to a person his name was not actually put in the document but above it. In the like manner the name of the king to whom reference was made in the document was put above the text. *Documents in the Central Archives*, Allahabad, Nos. 2,3,6 etc.

8. *Khanqah* : The *Khanqah* was a spacious building which provided separate accommodation for every visitor and inmate. Suharwardi saints constructed *Khanqahs*. But now the term is used for all centres of Spritual activity without distinction. *Some Aspects of Religion*

and Politics in the Thirteenth Century, K. A. Nizami, ed. 1961, p. 175 N. 1.

9. *Kharief*: Autumn Crop.

10. *Parsel*: The third year of the Turkish Duodenary Cycle. *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, p. 317. For details see '*Islamic Culture*', XXVI, No. I, January 1952. *The Turkish Duodenary Cycle and Its Use by Mughuls.*

11. *Saliyana*: An annuity, a yearly salary or pension, *Glossory*, Wilson, p. 456. Abul Fàzl informs us: "His Majesty bestows upon needy people, money and necessaries, winning the heart of all in public and private. Many enjoy daily, monthly or yearly allowances, which they receive without kept waiting." *Ain*, I, p. 5.

12. The *Madad-i-Ma'ash* grants were of two type: (a) conditional: granted in lieu of salary to the religious and judicial staff: (b) unconditional: granted for benevolent purposes to help the needy and the learned. To the later type of grantees, Jahangir has applied the epithet *Lashkari-i-Doa goan*' as there used to be a clause in their grant documents that they will pray for the 'perpetuity of the everlasting dominion.' In this series, Document Nos. 2,5 and 13 also have this clause in the end.

13. *Zi Qadh*: The 11th month of the Arabic Hijri Calender.

14. 49th Regnal year of Aurangzeb: 1116 A.H./1704-5 A.D.

15. *Baiz*: Baiz is to be found in many of the contemporary documents. According to the Steingass, "It is a mark fixed to public writings by the magistrate or any principal officer." It indicates 'the end', and obviates any later additions by any unauthorised person. It is not only found on Mughal grant documents but on Turkish documents also. See *Documents from Islamic Chanceries* (ed. S. M. Sleru, 1965).

16. *Sharh-i-Zimn*: Detail of contents: It is a technical term used in connection with *Farmans* and *parwanah*. While describing the process of drafting a *Farman*, Abul Fazl writes, "When the Emperor orders for the grant of salary *(tali'qah-i Tan)*, the clerks keep the order and prepares the draft, the *Diwan* inspects it and verifies it and then puts his mark and seal, then the *Bakhshi* and the *Mushrif-i-Diwan* put their seals, in order, on the draft when the imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature to the *Diwan*.

The *Sahib-i-Taujih* or the military accountant keeps the former

Taliqah (draft), and writes its detail on the back of the *Farman (Sharh an ra dar Zimn-i-Farman Navisad)* and puts his mark and seal on it.'' *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, p. 154.

17. *Fard-i-Haqiqat*: "A statement of circumstances" or a report *Glossory*, Wilson, p. 155.

18. *Sadir-o- warid*: Casual guests; the *Khanqahs* of medieval saint were a refuge from all worldly confusions and troubles to people fron all walks of life. In the words of Prof. Nizami, "Here came people disgusted morose and frustrated, with their personalities torn by inne conflicts *(tafraqa)* and their hearts bleading at the atrocities of th extra world. The mystic leader not only soothed their excited nerves but integrated their personalities to the highest point of inner harmoney.' *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the 13th century* p. 210.

19. *Fuqara o Tulaba*: All sorts of people flocked to the *Khanqah*, fo some reason or other of theirs. The mendicants *(fuqara)* for thei daily needs.

The students visited and stayed at the *khanqah* to partake of th instructions, for, the *khanqahs* or shrines of Muslim saints, which wer scattered all over the country, played an important role in the dissem ination of knowledge, both spiritual and secular. *Some cultural Aspect of Muslim Rule in India* Jaffar, p. 80 (ed. 1950).

20. *Sarkar*: The word *Sarkar*, writes Prof. Irfan Habib "was widel used in the literature of our (i.e. Mughal) period for the administratio of a prince or noble." *The Agrarian System*, p. 282, no. 49. Here th term *Sarkar* is used in a general sense for the government.

21. *Dafter-i-Diwan*, the revenue department.

22. *Sad*: The seventeenth letter of the Arabic persian alphabet calle *sad-i-ghair manquta, sad-i-muhmala*. It is used for sadiq. "True genuine, *Steingass*, p. 777. Mr. Jhaveri says that it is equivalent t *Sahih*, i.e. correct. "In the royal *parwanaha*," He says, "the rulers d not sign but merely write *Sahih* or *Sad* at the top." *Imperial Farman granted to the ancestors of Tikayat Maharaj*, Doc. XIV. n. 17 of th endorsement. But these documents bear more than one *Sad* and tha after the endorsements. So *Sad* here could not be tantamount to roy signature. But as Steingass informs us; "To inscribe an account wit the letter *Sad* imply that it had been audited, to mark anything selecte

or chosen with this letter," *Persian English Dictionary*, p. 779. Here also it is used to denote the correctness of the endorsement.

23. *Mim*: The letter *Mim* too, occurs very frequently in these and other contemporary documents. As it is sometimes placed below the endorsement containing the word *Muttala' Shud*, Mr. Gosvami suggests that it might be an abbreviation for these words. In that case it would signify something like 'order received.' *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, p. 139 n. 20.

24. *Daftar-i-Sadarat*: *Sadr* was the person incharge of the charity grants and endowments. He was helped in financial matters by a clerk, styled *Diwan-i-Sa'adat*. Abul Fazl informs us, "In case of Suyurghals (*Madad-i.Ma'ash*), the *furman*, after having been signed by the *Mustaufi*, are entered in the daftars of the *Diwan-i-Sa'adat* (vide *Ain*, 19), they are then signed and sealed by the *Sadr* and the *Diwan-i-Kul*." *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, p. 154-55. So *Daftar-i-Sadarat* signified Sadr's deptt.

25. *Bandah*: Slave. The Mughal officials affixed some such words as *Bandah* (slave), *Fidvi* (servant), or *Murid* (disciple) with their names to show their devotion to the reigning sovereign.

26. *Riza-i-Khuda*: The will of God.

27. *Sabt Shud*: *Muttala' Shud*: Prof. Hodivala remarks about these words that they appear to have been parts of the official terminology of the day. Each of them was peculiar to some departmental head and was used by him only when recording the documents, and was a sort of password which was perfectly understood by his colleagues who were able at once to tell through what hands or offices the paper had passed." *Studies in Parsi History*, p. 168.

Sabt Shud shows that the order *Sabt numayand* (may be entered or noted) by the *Diwan* has been obeyed.

Abul Fazl writes: "The mark and the seal of the *Diwan* the *Bakhshi* and the accountant of the *Diwan* (*Mushrif*) are put on the draft in order, when the imperial grant is written on the outside." *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, p. 156.

28. *Kamtarin Makhluqat*: The meanest creature, or the humblest creature.

The Three Seals: None of the names on the seals is legible. As to whom these seals belong a very accurate guess can be made, by the

positions of the seals. Abul Fazl writes: "*Farmans, parwanahs* and *Barats* are made into several folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off the *Wakil* puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the *Mushrif* of the *Diwan* puts his seal in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then in the like manner, but a little lower, comes the seal of the *Sadr*." *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, p. 156. It means that the first seal of this documents is that of a *Wakil*, the second that of *Mushrif* and the third that of the *Sadr*.

DOCUMENT NO. 4

1. The seal of Asaf-ud-daulah, the *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* of Farrukhsiyar bears the date : Ist regional year. But this was not the date of the *Farman*, as it was issued in the 3rd regnal year of Farrukhsiyar (which corresponded with 1715 A. D.). The date signify the time when Asaf-ud-Daula was first appointed to his post by Farrukhsiyar. Khafi Khan tells us that the seal of Asaf-ud-daula was put under the seal of the *Khan-i-Khanan*, (*Muntakhab* II, p. 602) but here it is the other way round.

2. The seal of Mu'azzam Khan Khan-i-Khanan, on the other hand bears the 2nd regnal year, and A. H. 1120/1513-14 A. D. It means that this seal was executed after that of Asaf-ud-Daula, when he had received the title of Mu'azzam Khan in the 2nd year of Farrukhsiyar's reign.

3. *Jagirdars*: According to Wilson, Jagirdars were 'the holders of any assignment of revenue. *Glossory*, p. 225. The Mughal Emperor's transferred their right to the land revenue and other taxes to certain of their subjects. The area whose revenue was assigned was known as *Jagir*. The assignees were known as *Jagirdars* (holders of *Jagir*). *Agrarian System*, Irfan Habib, p. 257.

4. *Karori*: In the 19th year of Akbar's reign tracts yielding a *karor* of dams were separated and each was put under an officer who came to be known as *Karori*. *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 117. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Badauni, II, p. 189. *Karori* was incharge of both, assessment and collection of revenue. When the *Karori* experiment was wound up, the name *Karori* struck to these officials. For details see, *Agrarian System*, Irfan Habib, p. 275 et seq.

5. *Farman*: The royal order. Abul Fazl gives detailed description of the two types of *Farmans* prevalent under Akbar: *Farman-i-Biyazi* and *Farman-i-Sabti*. For conferring *Madad-i-Ma'ash* the later type of *Farman* was issued. And it was first signed and sealed by the ministers of state, and then laid before the Emperor. *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 153-5.

6. It is interesting to note that in the documents upto Aurangzeb's reign, so many titles were not affixed with the name of the sovereign; but it seems that gradually, as the authority of the sovereign began to decline the list of titles attached increased.

7. This blank space is for the word *Mu'alla* written over the document underneath the name of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir, which is for the next blank space in the document.

8. Jamad II : The sixth month of the Arabic lunar calendar.

9. *Dar o Bist* : Entire or whole. The whole of a district or estate, as opposed to a *Kismat*, or portion. *Glossory*, Wilson, p. 124.

10. *Udi'el :* The second month of the Turkish Deudenary Cycle.

11. *Zubdat-ul-Wasilin : Wasil*, is one who joins, arrives or meets and *zubdat* means cream or the best. Here it denotes one who has met or reached God. So the meaning of the whole term will be the best of mystics or saints.

12. *Agar dar mahl-i-digar chizat dashta Bashand an ra i' tabar na kunand* : Hodiwala takes it to mean that if the grantee possessed land elsewhere, that ought not to be taken into account. *Studies in Parsi History*, Doc. dated 1626. Dr. Saran takes it to mean that the 'officials should not "rely on any document given on any other occasion than this (i.e. any other document in preference to this)." *A Farman of Farrukhsiyar, Indian History Records Commission*, Dec. 1942, pp. 74-79. But Dr. B. N. Goswami is of opinion that this general expression was meant to obviate the possiblity of the grantee having any other un-authorised *Madad-i-Ma'ash* land. "It was intended to indicate that the grant-in-question was the only grant given to the recipient." *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, p. 101, n. 5. Earlier in Akbar's reign grants were assigned in scattered villages, but this practice was much abused. And the grantees sometimes obtained land at two or more places on the strength of the same grant. *Agrarian System*, p. 302. Probably to obviate this practice this clause was inserted in the grant documents.

13. *Ramzan*: Seven month of the Arabic lunar calendar.

14. *A'imma-i-Uzzam*: Grantees. But the office which dealt with the charities for the *A'imma* was known as *Diwan-i-Sa'adat* or *Sadarat*, the term *Dafter-i-Aimma-i-Uzzam*, came in vogue under the later Mughals, probably.

15. *Avarja*: The account of the daily expenditures at the court.

DOCUMENT NO. 2

1. *Sanads*: Abul Fazl writes. "Every money matter will be satisfactorily settled when the parties express their minds clearly, then take a pen and write down the statement in legible hand-writing. Every written statement of account is called a *Sanad*. All classes of men adopt such a practice. *Sanad* is a voucher which relieves the treasurer of all responsibility, and on which people receive payment of their claims. *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, p. 153.

2. *Hububat*: Applied to cesses or imposts extra to the regular assessment. The term, writes Wilson, "seems to have been used indiscriminately with *abwab*, but they more correctly defined exactions in kind, of articles for the use of Zamindar or of persons in authority, as milk, eggs, sheep, oil, ghee, blankets, skins, and the like : they were sometime commuted for money." *Glossory*, p. 192. But here *Muqarrari*, *Shuhnagi*, Bhent and *chitthawan* have been included in *Hububat*.

3. *Muqarrari* : *Muqarrar* or a fixed amount was levied by *Jagirdars* from the grantees which was known as the '*Muqarrari-i-Aimma*'. Aurangzeb forbade its extortion, with certain other cesses, quite early in his reign. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (Ali Mohd. Khan, Ed. 1928 I, p. 287.) Probably the *Jagirdars* continued to levy it.

4. *Shuhnagi*: The duty pay of the *Shuhna* (a person employed to watch the crops and stop and fraudulent abstraction of grain) was known as *Shuhnagi*, *Glossory*, Wilson, p. 80. He received his food from zamindar's house and his clothing and housing arrangement was made by the artisans of the village. *Dictionary of Khwaja Yasin*, (British Museum Add, 6603) f. 68a.

5. *Pattadari*: A payment expected by official on the grant of a *pattah*. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Irfan Habib, p. 24.

6. *Bhent*: The presentation of a gift made to a superior on occasion of being presented or introduced to him, a complimentary gift, a *nazar*. A present made by the cultivator to the collector or farmer on settling his assessment. *Glossory*, Wilson. p. 80. Here it refers to the gift which the grantee had to make to the collector.

7. *Chitthawan*: (or *Chitawan*) It was levied by the Hakim, who gave a letter of permission to reap the crop when *it* was ripe. In some places it was fixed at Rs. 1. *Dictionary*, *Khwaja Yasin*, f. 59 ab.

8. *Muharram*: The first month of the Arabic lunar calendar.

DOCUMENT NO. 5

1. *Sarkar:* An extensive division of a country in the Muhammadan government; a sub-division of a subah, containing many parganah; a district, a province. *Glossory*, p. 462.

2. *Khudama*: plural of khadim. Servants; Here it refers to the persons taking care of the shrine of Makhdum Ashraft.

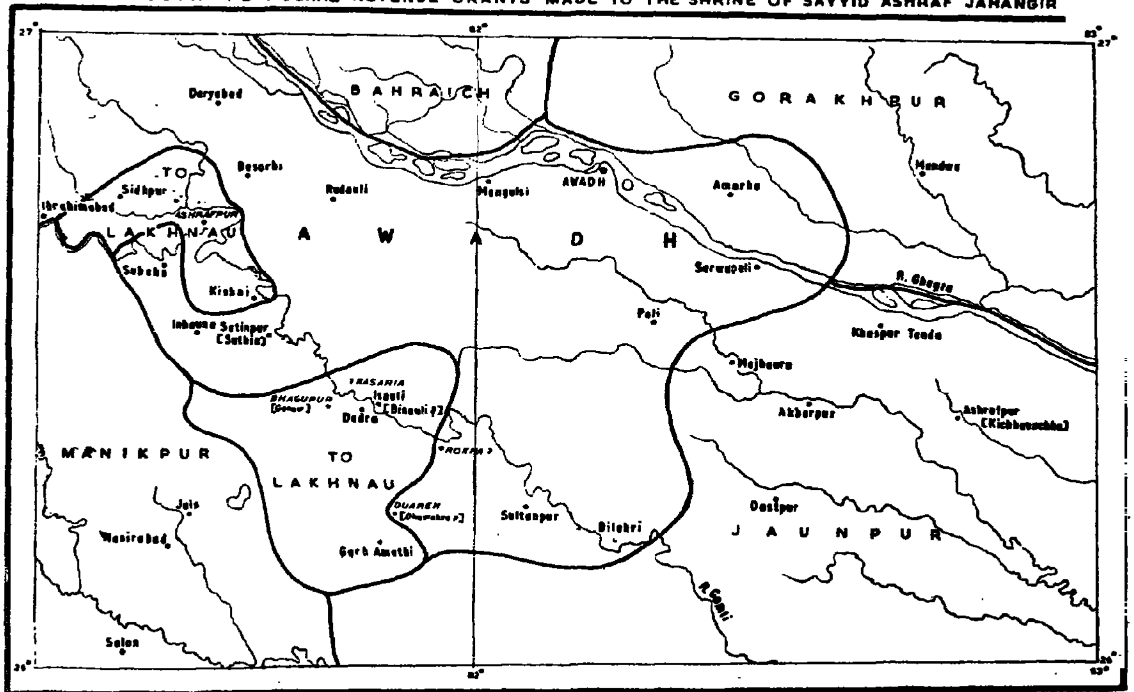
3. *Ilan'el*: The sixth year of the Turkish Duodenary Cycle.

4. Executive year. It was fasli year which is referred to here. Its months were solar, but year was lunar.

5. *Sha'ban*: Sixth month of the Arabic calendar.

MAP

TO ILLUSTRATE MUGHAL REVENUE GRANTS MADE TO THE SHRINE OF SAYYID ASHRAF JAHANGIR



Sarkar boundary —— Pargana headquaters thus ... Nasirabad

SCALE 10 5 0 10 20 MILES

DETAILS OF THE PLACES SHOWN ON THE MAP

(I am grateful to Professor Irfan Habib for helping me in the identification of the places).

1. PARGANAH NASIRABAD

District Gazetteer, Rae Bareli, mentions the Mahal of Nasirabad which is situated to the North of Salon, marching with Rae Bareli which seems to have included the present Prashadpur and the old parganah of Rokha. *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, XXXIX, Rae Bereli, p. 139.

As Parganah signifies a territorial Mahal, this is parganah Nasirabad referred to in the Document.

2. MAUZA' ASHRAFPUR

The village of Ashrafpur referred to in the document (no. 4) is not the same as Ashrafpur, Kichhaunchha (though not a parganah headquarter but shown in the same lettering in the map), where the actual shrine of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir is situated. Ashrafpur (of the document) is on the Gomti (north bank), above its confluence with the Kalyani N., tehsil Ramsanchighat, Dist. Barabanki, 81° 35′ E 26° 43′ N., 10 miles NNE of Kishni.

3. MAUZA' ROKHA

Rokha in Tehsil Salon, Dist. Rae Bareli is too far from Sultanpur to be identified with the Mauza referred to in Doc. No. 2.

4. PARGANAH BISOLI

No place of this name exists to-day which can be identified with parganah Bisoli. There is a parganah Basorhi (where actually a branch of the family settled) but in identifying it with Bisoli, there is one problem, besides its being in another pargana. One of the villages, i.e. Bhagupur (also known as Ganaur) referred to in document No. 5 as being situated in parganah Bisoli, has been identified as being situated near parganah Isauli. We can only speculate on Isauli being mentioned as Bisoli, (for A'in actually mentions Isauli as a pargana in Sarkar Lucknow) till further evidence (for or against) comes to light. An eighteen century administrative manual

(British Museum, Add. 6586), also mentions Isauli as in pargana in Sarkar Lucknow), f. 94a. The other mauza', Kasaria, mentioned in the document as situated in the same pargana, is not identified.

5. MAUZA' DHAURAHRA

Dhaurahra, situated in pargana Mangalsi, tahsil Faizabad cannot be identified with Dhauraha of Document No. 13, being too far from Sultanpur. Possibly present Dharamwan (with a mosque) 81° 56′ E, 26° 21′N. Sultanpur tehsil, or Dharah, 81° 50′E, 26° 15′N, Amethi tehsil, Dist. Sultanpur is the village we are concerned with.

REVIEWS

(i) Studies in the History of Rajasthan

Students whose knowledge of medieval India is based on Persian histories and records only get a casual glimpse of Rajasthan when one of its chief comes into conflict with the central government of Delhi. Tod's work on Rajasthan did something to give us a continuous view of the subject, but it was marred by many defects. Too much reliance was placed on bards and story-tellers; Tod had no idea of the Persian histories available, and sometimes made statements that insult one's intelligence. The work done by the late Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha deserves great esteem, but he did not succeed in correlating Persian and Rajasthani records. It is difficult for a scholar, whose real object is historical investigation, to know all the 14 or 15 languages of India, with their local variations, but by now a sufficient number of Persian histories have been translated into English and a scholar who knows English along with Sanskrit, Hindi and Rajasthani, not an impossible demand, should be able to explore the history of Rajasthan on the basis of reliable material—histories, records, coins, inscriptions, archaeological remains and the like.

All these conditions are fulfilled by Dr. Gopi Nath Sharma, a Rajasthani Brahman, whose *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors (1526-1707)* first saw the light in 1954. It is one of the first works that have appeared in English on Rajasthan history based on the critical appraisal of all available authorities and with very detailed references. The tiny Mewar of the middle ages (as Dr. A.L. Srivastava correctly points out) was in population and revenue about equal to two districts of the present day Uttar Pradesh. But it occupies in the history of India an importance altogether out of proportion to its size, and this is primarily due to its brave Ranas from Bappa Rawal to Rana Pratap, to the chiefs subordinate to them, and to the traditions they fostered. If the history of India had unfolded itself logically, the administrative unification of our country would have been a Rajput achievement. But things went wrong, and so while the Turks, the Mughals and the English stood for a centralised administration, the Rajputs became the torch-bearers of local independence. The reason for it is given by G. N. Sharma is passing, but deserves a careful reflection on the basis of world history.

Both among the Rajputs and the Musalmans the property of a dead man was divided among his sons. But while the state among the Musalmans originated as an inheritance (*Khilafat*) from the Prophet and was considered one and indivisible, the sons of a Rajput raja could claim to divide up his land and not seldom succeeded in doing so. This effectually prevented the establishment of an all-India Rajput state.

Writers on Indian provincial or regional histories are naturally tempted to throw the lime-light on their own heores, and the temptation is almost irresistable in the case of all-India figures, who have won universal recognition for their indomitable valour and their devotion to their ancestral freedom. Still Dr. Sharma does not fail to see the other side of the medal. Thus with reference to the battle of Khanua he observes: "Rana Sanga had brought together a huge crowd of men, most of whom were Rajputs...They were not amenable to discipline and were held together by the slender ties of allegiance to their chiefs and not to the ruler of Mewar...The Rana possessed no artillery and 'arrows could not answer bullets'...Like all Rajputs the Rana believed in frontal attacks; he threw himself headlong into the battle like an ordinary soldier and thus not only surrendered his position as the supreme general of his troops, but lost touch with various divisions of his army. Defeat was inevitable (p. 36-37)". "A critical examination of his career shows that in spite of his heroic ability he was not a statesman of a high order (p. 40)." This lack of statesmanly foresight is (according to Dr. Sharma) further proved by the way in which Rana Sanga "fragmented his vast empire, acquired through the flow of copious blood of the flower of Mewar" out of regard for his favourite wife (p. 41).

Rana Pratap's twenty-five year's heroic struggle against superior power of the Mughal empire has won him the undying applause of posterity and almost every large Indian city has a road named after him. Akbar wanted peace but his three attempts to come to some agreement with the Rana were spurned with contempt. Dr. Sharma sums up: "Great as Pratap was, one might speculate whether the struggle tended to contribute to the welfare of the country as a whole or produced adverse effects on the future of the land. It is to be admitted that, as Akbar was a great and a benevolent sovereign who pursued the grand policy of unifying the country both politically and culturally, Pratap's remaining aloof from the union was a great impediment in the noble task. To that extent it was injurious to the interest

of his country. If at this stage Pratap would have joined the Mughal order, he could have saved his contry from disaster and ruin (p. 106) ...For Mewar this long and bitter struggle was an unrelieved calamity—of unspeakable misery of the countryside, of population wasted, of peasants rendered homeless and of an alarming amount of unrest and disorder (p. 188)." "The tragedy of the situation was that Jahangir, when victorious, imposed only the following terms—(a) acknowledgment of Mughal suzerainty, (b) provision of 1000 horsemen for imperial service, (c) attendance of the Rana's son—but not of the Rana—at the Mughal Court; (d) the fort of Chitor, which the invention of gunpowder had turned into a museum piece, was to be restored to the Rana on condition of not being repaired. These terms would have been given by Akbar at any time.

The Rajput War owing to Aurangzeb's seizure of Marwar after Jaswant Singh's death requires no comment. Rana Raj Singh was dragged into it, because Ajit Singh was the son of his niece but his subjects suffered terribly and he consented to give to Aurangzeb his pound of flesh—three parganas in lieu of the *jaziya.*

The Rajput bards, following the traditions of the Mahabharata and the Puranas in general, give inflated army figures. Dr Sharma takes care to correct these figures. Thus with reference to the battle of Haldighat he notes: "The official record, used by Abul Fazl and Nizam-uddin, gives 150 killed on the imperial side and 500 on the side of the Rana. Badaoni who was present on the field gives the total number of casualties as 500 out of which 120 were Muslims...The Rajput sources give exaggerated numbers; they put the casualties of the imperialists as beyond counting and those of the Rana as 20,000 which is wrong (p. 93)."

"One of the most bewildering problems a student of (medieval) Rajasthan history has to face," Dr. G.N. Sharma observes, "is the absence of a scientific guide to the source material for his study". In his *Bibliography of Medival Rajasthan (Social & Cultural)*, published in 1965, he has provided a short guide-book, which carefully lists the documents, mostly unpublished, which he has personally studied, and also points out the best lines for future investigations. "I do not claim to have exhausted the sources, which are voluminous, but I have indicated the nature of the material, which is copious enough to warrant a guidance for young researchers." Most of Dr. Sharma's work concerns manuscript material; the task was a hard one and must have taken

years, but the author assures us that he found his pioneer work "fascinating".

Dr. Sharma gives the primary place to inscriptions and has listed 115 inscriptions in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Rajasthani. Here as well as in the chapters that follow, the author gives a short account to indicate the character of every item. Then follows a list of 64 unpublised Persian and Rajasthani documents, the character of every document and the place where it is to be found are carefully indicated. The next chapter is devoted to 39 Persian histories. But by far the most important chapter relates to the unpublished archival records of Bikaner, Kotah, Jodhpur, Jaipur and Ajmer. "The princely states of Rajasthan," the authors says "had a historic past and dignity, which necessitated maintaining records of varied nature; these records include a large number of *bahis*, *chopanyas*, *haqiqats*, *dastur* and the like, prepared datewise." They are written in Rajasthani character and "throw a good deal of light on a new (Social) aspect of the history of Rajasthan." Only a general survey of these records was possible, but the author has carelly culled from each bundle some useful fact relating to social life, such as working men's wages, salaries of state employees, and designations of officers. Sculptures come next. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to General Cunningham, Carlyle and Garrick and selects, 21 sculptures for special note. "Rajasthani paintings which are found in huge collections at various museums, art galleries and private collections are important landmarks in historical studies. Right from the 14th to the 18th century we come across several paintings which depict Rajasthani culture in its true perspective." A fairly large number of paintings and illustrated manuscripts are listed with reference to the places where they can be seen. Rajasthan, lastly, produced a good deal of literarure in Sanskrit, Rajasthani and Hindi. Dr. Sharma notices about 150 works (mostly unpublished) which have a bearing on Rajasthan History or social life. Taken as a whole, Dr. Sharma's *Bibliography* gives proof of an extensive, profound and critical study on which future scholars of Rajasthan can safely build.

Dr. G.N. Sharma's latest work (1968), *Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, 1500-1800* makes a careful use of the extensive Indian material noticed above, but the information given by foreign travellers, who passed through Rajasthan, is also utilised. The work is a bold enterprise, excellently executed, and gives us a new vision of Rajasthan. Facts about all aspects of Rajasthan life—except the military—are care-

:ully brought together, with one or more authorities for every statement; about a fourth of the total space is devoted to footnotes and there is a bibliography of 34 pages. The courage of the Rajputs was universally accepted in India as the highest attainable standard, but it was left for Dr. G.N. Sharma to prove that the Rajputs were not only a brave but also a cultured people. Unlike the medieval bards, Dr Sharma does not praise Rajasthan at the cost of other Indian provinces. He sticks to facts and figures; conditions of other provinces are not discussed, but the reader has to keep in mind that many misfortunates to which Dr. Sharma refers—famines, low wages and above all, poverty—were common to the whole of India and were in no sense the misfortunes for Rajasthan alone. Only the more important features of Medieval Rajasthan can be noted here.

Though a few inscriptions and monuments dating from the pre-Christian era are found in some parts of the region, the society of Rajasthan is fundamentally medieval. From the seventh to the twelfth century A.D. various Rajput clans—36 in number according to tradition—began to migrate to Rajasthan from Gujrat, Panjab and Uttar Pradesh. The primitive tribes—Minas, Bhils, etc.—who inhabited the region were suppressed. "It is not difficult to imagine," says Dr. Sharma, "that the ancient inhabitants were in all probability, partly massacred, partly driven into the hills, and partly permitted to live side by side with the conquerors (p. 19-20)." But the Rajputs were only one of the four castes of Aryan society; they could not live without the other three castes and it would be safe to conclude that they brought these castes along with them. Only the non-caste element of the *chandalas*, whom the Aryan society required for the meanest type of work, was locally available. The history of Rajput chiefs and clans is confusing, but it has been reduced into formal order by Dr. G.N. Sharma in his chapter on Rajasthan in the fifth volume of the *Comprehensive History of India*. However by about 1500 A.D. eight Rajput states—Mewar, Marwar, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Jaipur, Bundi, Dungarpur and Sirohi—had been definitely established. The Mewatis, who are Rajput in origin, had become Muslims.

This expansion of an Aryan community within historic times led to the revival of two ancient arts, town-planning and fort-building, for the exercise of which a unique opportunity was now available. "The principles of Indian traditions of town-planning," Dr. Sharma observes, "were further emphasised by Mandan, the celebrated architect of Maha-

ran Kumbha, in his *Rajavallabha*, an architectural treatise of a high order (p. 46)." The town-planners of Rajasthan deserve great credit for their originality; we must not pretend that they were merely following tradition, for every city had to be specially planned with reference to its location and site—the water available, nearness to a cross-country road, defence, etc. This is even more true with reference to forts, for the construction of every new fort raised problems peculiar to itself. "The Rajputs were great builders; and though most of these forts are in a state of ruin and a major part of them have perished, what survives is an impressive witness of the military architecture of the time. Even today we can count ten to fifteen forts in a journey of twenty miles in the hilly regions of Rajasthan." Rana Kumbha built more than 32 forts of which about 20 still exist. That forts in India, as in other countries, had a temporary value cannot be denied, but world history from the ten years siege of Troy at the dawn of history to the circumvention of the French Maginot Lines during the Second World War seems to prove that victory in the long run belongs to the party that can establish its power in the open country. The case of India could not be different.

The social structure of Rajasthan was not substantially different from the rest of India, but in the course of centuries the position of noble Rajput families, who depended exclusively on the produce of the land for their livelihood, gradually worsened. Dr. Sharma attributes this to the absence of the law of primogeniture. "Under the Rajput system every son, as he grew up, married and claimed his right to a separate share of his father's inheritance; and thus the ancestral estate was constantly partitioned till the whole family was reduced to the condition of agriculturists, who enjoyed none of the dignity and status, which were claimed by their first ancestor (p. 89)."

Hindu religion may be roughly divided into canonical, non-canonical and reformatory. Dr. Sharma describes them in detail. But the last two are distinctively Rajput. Dr. Sharma refers to a number of 'folk-gods' peculiar to Rajasthan—Goga, Tejaji, Pabuji, Mallinath, and Deoji. They were probably heroes who were deified after their death. The movement of religious reforms or *Bhakti* which in our region we associate with Kabir Das - monotheism, rejection of the caste system and its rituals and the negation of all exclusive creeds—had also its counterpart in Rajasthan. Jambha, Raidas, Dadu Dayal, Charandas, Laldas, Mavji and Ramcharan taught much the same principles. But in Rajasthan as in Uttar Pradesh they failed to shake the iron rule of the caste

system. Dr. Sharma has something new to tell us about Mira Bai. According to him, she was the only daughter of Ratan Singh of Mewar and was born about 1498-9. Her husband, Bhoj Raja son of Rana Sanga died soon after his marriage, and since Rana Vikramajit could not tolerate her devotion to Lord Krishna, she took to the wandering life of an ascetic.

The land in Rajasthan, according to Dr. Sharma was divided into five important categories—*Khalisa* or land belonging to the state but let out to peasants so long as they paid the rent; *Jagir* or land belonging to the Rajput nobles as their share of inheritance in the state, subject to military and other duties; *Bhum* or land given on nominal quit-rent for watch and ward services; *Sason* or *muafi* land, which was granted to religious people who were under no obligation to pay tribute or perform services but could not alienate the land; and *Charna* or meadows which were the common property of the village. The land tax (*bhoga* or *hasil*) was one-fourth to one-third of the gross produce, taken after measurement and weighing or by mere guess-work *(Kanta)*.

We need not now discuss in detail Tod's proposition that Rajasthan was organised on a feudal basis like medieval Europe. The two are fundamentally different. "A Rajput chief," Dr. Sharma correctly points out, "rules over a state as the head of a clan, which was divided into numerous sub-clans, at the head of which were petty chiefs, generally members of his own family, *the relation between them was not so much of lord and vassal as of kinsmen*, commonly termed *bhaiji*, *kakaji* or *chut-bhai*. These kinsmen claimed social equality in all matters—domestic and political (p. 89)." This was not the case in medieval Europe, where lord and vassal belonged to different strata of society.

The most important feature of *Medieval Rajasthan* has still to be noted. Orthodox history till recent times only surveyed society from the foot of the royal throne and contented itself with recording the struggle of kings and the governing classes. References to the life of the peasants and the workers have been only indirect. Dr. G.N. Sharma's careful study of the original records enables him to state, *first*, that the industries of Rajasthan were well-developed, and *secondly* that further progress was made impossible owing to the low social position assigned to the worker, forced labour or *begar* and administrative oppression of all types. "The cultivator had to be satisfied with a meagre reward for the hard work of himself and his family." The inventories of thefts commit-

ted show that a well-to-do peasant had two *dhotis* and two turbans for himself, for saris costing about Rs. 2-4 for his wife and some ten utensils costing about Rs. 25 (p. 301). The wages recorded show the same sad tale. "The account papers (1693-1791 A.D.) of the construction of the palaces of Jaipur and Kotah show that skilled labourer got annas 6 to 8 and a supervising architect Rs. 1/2 per day. The wages of unskilled labourers as mentioned in the Kotah records of 1689 A.D. vary from one anna to two annas. Payment was sometimes made in grain—14 *chataks* daily for skilled workers and 2 to 4 *chataks* for women workers. The Bikaner *bahis* throw some light on wages—a *chaukidar*, Rs. 2 per month, grooms, sweepers and gardeners, Rs. 1 to Rs. 3 per month. "From the point of view of wages the prospects of government officials were not very encouraging. The pay of officers of position, according to the Bikaner *bahi* (V.S. 1764) varied from Rs. 21 to Rs. 28 per month. An accountant's pay, according to the Kotah records, was Rs. 135 per year. An ordinary clerk could be engaged for Rs. 60 per year, while a senior clerk's pay was about Rs. 235 a year. A kotwal was generally paid Rs. 15 to 20 a month (p. 312). Such low wages could only be possible with the low price of grain. According to Dr. Sharma 10 maunds of wheat could be purchased for Rs. 14 to 16; the same quantity of millet for Rs. 11 to Rs. 12, and of barley for Rs. 9 to Rs. 10. The low scale of both grain prices and wages proves only one thing-the thorough exploitation of the peasants and the workers. But this was an Indian—and not a Rajasthani—misfortune. Tavernier, for example, could on his journey from Surat to Agra get 50 guards at Rs. 4 per month each. The states and the governing classes tried to appropriate the whole surplus value of labour. Still the conditions of the workers and peasants was probably better in Rajasthan than in the Mughal empire.

Mohammad Habib

(ii) **Urdu main Wahhabi Adab,** by Professor Khwaja Ahmad Faruqi, 61 pages, A Delhi University Publication.

Much has been written on various aspects of the Wahhabi Movement in the past but much remains to be investigated still. Professor K.A. Faruqi's study of the manuscripts available in the Commonwealth Library and the British Museum has enabled him to finalise his study of the subject. Lack of space compels me to cofine myself to his main contributions. (1) Professor Faruqi claims that Wahhabism is like the Puritan movements in Christianity; it attempted to go back to a pure and unsullied Arabian past but in the context of history we can see clearly that it was *an unsuccessful but necessary* attempt towards establishing a free India. This question is not controversial. (2) Wahhabism is a misnomer; the members of the movement called themselves *Ahl-i Hadis* (Followers of the Prophet's Precepts). The great leaders of the Muslim Puritan movement in Arab lands—Ibn-i Taimiyyah in the thirteenth century and Abdul Wahhab in the eighteenth—had no direct influence on Muslim religious thinkers in India, which it is possible to trace in any detail. Professor Faruqi rightly claims that the movement should be known after Shah Waliullah, whose school (including the members of his family) was responsible for its basic teachings. It was his son, Shah Abdul Aziz, who in 1803 issued the *fatwa* (religious ordinance) that a holy war against the British was a religious duty of the Musalmans throughout the British dominions. He had refused to issue any such *fatwa* against the Marathas or the Sikhs. (3) The immediate object of the movement was to remove all non-Quranic superstitions from the religious life of the Indian Muslims. Professor Faruqi has given a remarkable list of these superstitions, but he has not classified them. Some of them like the conception of the Guru (*Shaikh, Qutb*) and *Murid* along with the basic conventions of the *Sufi Silsilahs* as well as the doctrine of *Fana* or *Nirwana*—were Buddhist elements which came back from Central Asia to India in a Muslim garb. Secondly, when an Indian working class group accepted Islam, it continued many Hindu customs which Islam did not directly prohibit. To this group may be assigned two customs against which the Wahhabis lodged a continuous protest—the very early marriage of Muslim girls and the total prohibition (by custom) of the remarriage of widows. The feasts given to the *biradari*[1] after a man's

1. In the terminol[illegible] *biradari* means a group of families, which had intermarried ir[illegible] s were probably meant to acknowledge the heirs

death and the ceremonies of tenth day (*daswan*), the fortieth day (*chaliswan*) and the end of the year (*sal*) also belong to the same category; these customs owed their origin to belief in the transmigration of souls. Thirdly, Indo-Muslim families also invented their own peculiar superstitions. To this category belonged many superstitions connected with child-birth (*zachgi*) and also attempts to coordinate Muslim saints and prophets with Hindu gods. The passage of time and the expansion of education has gradually eliminated these superstitions, but some of them, like the feeling against widow remarriage, still persist.

(4) The Wahhabis were not anti-Hindu in any sense; in fact they repeatedly declared that the future of India would be a matter of discussion between Indians after the foreigners had been driven away. Their political enterprise needed the help of Hindus at every turn, and they succeeded in getting this assistance.

(5) The Wahhabis were well-acquainted with the basic scriptures of Islam. They also took due care to specialise in physical fitness. Their failure and the success of the English, Professor Faruqi has rightly pointed out, was due to English advance in science. The Wahhabis were at least three centuries behind the contemporary European world. The failure of the Wahhabis and of all such Islamic movements in modern times, and the general backwardness of the Muslim communities all the world over, leaves us no alternative but to insist on the expansion of a principle that lies deep in the scripture of the Musalmans. The insistence on *ilm* (knowledge) by the Quran and by the Prophet's *Hadises* should be taken to include all scientific and secular knowledge—all search of truth for its own sake as well as for the sake of serving humanity, directly and indirectly. This was certainly the interpretations given to the doctrine of rational knowledge by the Muslims of the first and second century of our era, who diligently learned all the Greek sciences and Hindu sciences could teach them, and kept improving upon what they had learnt. Without this assimilation the world-thought of Islam could not have been established. But by the time Alberuni wrote in the first half of the eleventh century, religious conservatism had conquered the whole field and Alberuni saw no future for science either among the Hindus or the Musalmans. A century later came the Mongol invasions with the inevitability of fate, for the Mongols, unlike the Musalmans, had the capacity to learn, assimilate and improve.

(6) At the end of his work Professor Faruqi claims that the Wahhabis rendered a great service to Urdu literature (to which they

always referred as Hindi) by making it simple, direct, plain and intelligible; also that they were the very first group to do so. The old traditions, borrowed from Persian, was for ornateness of language, high-sounding titles, figures of speech, rhyming sentences and the like. It is not possible to deny this claim. The attempt of the Wahhabi author was to reach the heart of the reader and the heart of the illiterate man to whom his book was read. He could only do so by using the simplest language--a language that would be intelligible from Calcutta to Peshawar. All later works in Urdu have been built on this simplified basis. Professor Faruqi gives the pride of place to the *Taqwiyatul Iman* of Maulana Ismail Shahid, which has gone through several editions. My own preference is for Maulana Abdul Qadir's translation of the Quran; it is simple and as accurate as possible. The Quran, the Egyptians say, is untranslatable; this is of course correct. Still for an Urdu-reading student, whose knowledge of Arabic is meagre, Maulana Abdul Qadir's translation is the best means of understanding the correct meaning of the Quran.

Most books on Wahhabism have been written on material available in India. Professor Faruqi's Bibliography of 44 works also includes manuscripts only available in the British Museum and the Commonwealth Library.

Mohammad Habib